DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 481 305 FL 027 837

AUTHOR Lo Bianco, Joseph, Ed.

TITLE Voices from Phnom Penh. Development & Language: Global Influences & Local Effects.

ISBN ISBN-1-876768-50-9

PUB DATE 2002-00-00

NOTE 362p.

AVAILABLE FROM Language Australia Ltd., GPO Box 372F, Melbourne VIC 3001, Australia ($40). Web site: http://languageaustralia.com.au/.

PUB TYPE Books (010) -- Collected Works - Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF01/PC15 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *College School Cooperation; Community Development; Distance Education; Elementary Secondary Education; *English (Second Language); Ethnicity; Foreign Countries; Gender Issues; Higher Education; Indigenous Populations; Intercultural Communication; Language Usage; Language of Instruction; Literacy Education; Native Speakers; *Partnerships in Education; Preservice Teacher Education; Socioeconomic Status; Student Evaluation; Sustainable Development

IDENTIFIERS Cambodia; China; East Timor; Language Policy; Laos; Malaysia; Open Society; Philippines; Self Monitoring; Sri Lanka; Sustainability; Vernacular Education; Vietnam

ABSTRACT

This collection of papers is based on the 5th International Conference on Language and Development: Defining the Role of Language in Development, held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, in 2001. The 25 papers include the following: (1) "Destitution, Wealth, and Cultural Contest: Language and Development Connections" (Joseph Lo Bianco); (2) "English and East Timor" (Roslyn Appleby); (3) "Partnership in Initial Teacher Education" (Bao Kham and Phan Thi Bich Ngoc); (4) "Indigenous Languages for Development: The Philippine Experience" (Nestor Castro); (5) "Building Institutional Capacity" (Suos Man and Sok Luong Chan); (6) "International Languages in Education in Developing Countries: Implications for Cambodia" (Thomas Clayton); (7) "Evaluating Development Programs: Time to Watch Our Language" (Hywel Coleman); (8) "Making the Cap Fit: Culture in Higher Education Reform" (Jacqueline Dyer); (9) "Language Policy, Literacy Development, and Book Sector Development" (Martin Ferns); (10) "Gender, Language and Power in Community-Based Programs" (Lilliana Hajncl and Barbara Fitzgerald); (11) "Language in Development: The Open Society Institute" (Robert Hausmann); (12) "Language, Textbooks and Perspectives on Social Harmony in Sri Lanka" (David Hayes); (13) "Multilingual Literacy Development: Success in a Difficult Environment" (Margaret Hill); (14) "In the Field: Inter-Cultural Communication through Radio and Other Media" (Kaz Janoski and Monica Janoski); (15) "Language, Development and Political Correctness" (Psyche Kenett); (16) "Vernacular Literacy in Community Development: The Chong of Thailand" (Kimmo Kosonen); (17) "Applying the Findings of Cognitive Psychologists in a Resource Poor Teaching Environment" (Gaylene Levesque); (18) "Globalisation Power and Hegemony in Language Development" (Shane P. Martin and Edmundo F. Litton); (19) "The Return on Investment from the Donor's Perspective" (Bonaventure Mbida-Essama); (20) "Sustainability Revisited: Insights from a Multiliteracies

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Project in Malaysia" (Moses Samuel); (21) "Second Languages in Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity in Laos" (Souvanixay Mythong, Nouannavong Onekeo, Keovongsa Khounmi, and Gary Ovington); (22) "A Distance Education Program in an Area of Ethnic Insurgency" (Richard Sproat); (23) "A Sustainable Testing System for Distance Education in Vietnam" (Quoc Hung Tran); (24) "Self-Monitoring Capabilities: Teacher Education and TEFL in Vietnam" (Ha Van Sinh); and (25) "Foreign Languages and Development: German in China" (Ulrich Wannagat). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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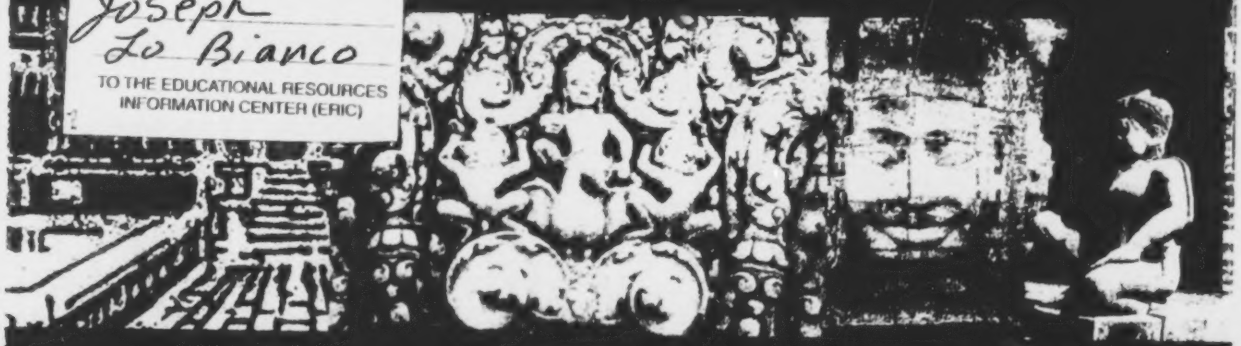

Global influences & local effects

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Voices From Phnom Penh

Development & Language:
Global Influences & Local Effects

Reflections from a conference in Phnom Penh on the complex interaction between economically conceived progress and indicators of communication-language

Editor
Joseph Lo Bianco

ilp Education Australia

I / A / L / F
EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

published by
Language Australia Ltd

LANGUAGE AUSTRALIA

Voices from Phnom Penh. Development & language: global influences & local effects.
Joseph Lo Bianco (Editor)

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publications Data
Voices from Phnom Penh : development & language : global influences & local effects.

Bibliography.
ISBN 1 876768 50 9.

1. Language and languages — Social aspects — Asia, Southeastern — Congresses.
2. Language planning — Asia, Southeastern — Congresses.
3. Education — Asia, Southeastern — Congresses.
4. Asia, Southeastern — Languages — Congresses.
I. Lo Bianco, Joseph.

306.44/959

Cover design: Gabrielle Markus
Typesetting and layout: Peter Sannwald
Editing: Nicole Hayes

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Published by Language Australia Ltd. The National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia

For further information contact:

Language Australia Ltd.
GPO Box 372F
Melbourne VIC 3001
Australia

The views expressed in this publication are those of the contributors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of Language Australia Ltd.

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Preface

This publication manifests the increasing recognition being given to the field of language and development. While the papers in this collection are the direct outcome of one conference in Phnom Penh, they clearly represent a contribution to a domain that is beginning to interest us all. At the time of publication, many world communities are directly confronting the issue of how we bridge the economic divide and communicate across humanity.

Those involved in the Language and Development conference series have been working to bridge this economic and cultural divide for the past decade. The conference has provided a mechanism for those engaged in development and those with an understanding of communication issues to gather and to define their place in an emerging, globalised context. This bi-annual conference series has become established precisely because the various language and development communities have recognised that language and development are linked. The Phnom Penh conference attracted language and literacy professionals, project managers, advisors and staff, donors, development studies faculty and students, as well as a range of other development workers who connect to the relevance of communication in their development work. What began a decade ago as predominantly a regional conference for Southeast Asia has now become an international conference with participants from all continents.

The Language and Development Conference series began at the Asian Institute of Technology in Bangkok in April 1993. This resulted in the publication of*Language and Development, Teachers in a Changing World* (Kenny and Savage, Longman 1997). The second conference was held in Bali in May 1995. Selected papers from Bali were published as *Language and Development* (Crooks and Crewes, IALF, 1995) and in a volume entitled *ESP in Southeast Asia* (Crooks, IALF, 1996). The third conference was held in Langkawi, Malaysia in July 1997. Conference proceedings were published by the National Institute of Public Administration in Malaysia. The Asian Institute of Technology, Vietnam, hosted the fourth conference in Hanoi in October 1999, and selected papers were published in *Partnership and Interaction* (Shaw, Lubelska and Noullet, AIT 2000).

In Cambodia, the conference was hosted by IDP Education Australia in collaboration with the Institute of Foreign Languages of the Royal University of Phnom Penh, and Language Australia: The National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia. This conference attracted 212 representatives from 29 countries for the full three days of its duration, including 42 Cambodian nationals. A further 76 Cambodians from local educational institutions attended for one afternoon of the conference dedicated specifically to English language teaching. Eight local and international non-government organistations (NGOs) presented a memorable plenary poster session focussing on communicating to non-literate communities on survival issues, ranging from mine awareness to tobacco awareness, HIV and reproductive health to child trafficking. Participants bridged the development divide in many ways.

At the time of publication, the next conference is being planned for 2003. It will be held on 15–17 October in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, thus taking the conference out of the Southeast Asian region for the first time. Readers of this publication are encouraged to visit the conference website at <http://www.idpcambodia.org/conference> for more information on the conference series, including Tashkent in 2003, and particularly on the Phnom Penh conference itself.

The numerous organisers of the 2001 conference produced a professional and enjoyable experience for all participants. We acknowledge the significant contributions of Dr Richard Webber, Mme Solange Marguerite, Mr In The, Ms Chan Sok Luong and Ms Psyche Kennett to the quality of the conference program.

We are indebted to Professor Joseph Lo Bianco AM and Language Australia for their editorial and publishing expertise.

This collection of papers is dedicated to the Rector of the Royal University of Phnom Penh, Mr Pit Chamnan and his colleagues, not only for their support of the 2001 conference, but also in recognition of their untiring commitment to the rehabilitation of the education sector in Cambodia.

Paul Mahony
IDP Education Australia (Cambodia)
Conference Coordinator

Geoffrey Crewes
IALF: Education for Development
Member, Steering Committee

This publication has been funded by IDP Education Australia (Cambodia) and the IALF: Education for Development (Indonesia).

1 Destitution, wealth, and cultural contest: language & development connections

Joseph Lo Bianco

The Human Development Report is the major summary document of the United Nations on the world's economic state. The latest report (UN 1999) documents the decade to 1999. It makes sober reading as it details, not only the depth and extent of the misery that constitutes the daily experience of many millions, but also makes clear that the disparity between rich and poor countries grew rather than narrowed during the 1990s. This is despite what might be described as the aid or development priority of many of the large international organisations over this same period.

In its analysis of the pattern of income distribution over the decade it surveys the United Nations notes that the ratio between the nations with the highest and those with the lowest income has increased from 60 to 1 in 1990 to a staggering 74 to 1 in 1999. The top 20% of nations and the bottom 20% of nations are now separated by a three to one ratio of income disparity where a decade ago the difference was of 60% in their relative income. This is a massive deterioration in the gap between wealth and poverty.

A large number of countries were worse off in absolute terms, so far as income is concerned, at the end of the decade than they were at its beginning. A very large number of individuals have assets that exceed the combined revenue of more than two fifths of all people. Haq (1995) has documented the relationship between literacy, especially female literacy, and several indicators of development, mainly but not only in South Asia. This work shows a strong connection between infant mortality rates and other critical health indicators and levels of literacy, especially among poor women. Haq and Haq (1998) examine this connection, convincingly demonstrating that rurality, femaleness, social and economic marginality and education, especially literacy for the least likely to attain it, the poorest women, are causally as well as coincidentally related (also UN 1999). The correspondence of illiteracy (and ineffective or unequally provided basic education and ineffective or unequally provided primary education) with various measures of health, nutrition and child survival, is pervasive.

From the perspective of the wealthy nations, too, the connection between literacy and competitive economic performance (an inflection of human capital asset theory) is now a theme of recurring scholarship. In this literature there are links between culture, social networks and education with economic indicators (OECD 1992, 1997, 1998, Harrison and Huntington 2000). Projecting back in time, Landes (2000) claims that literacy was vitally connected to the spirit of entrepreneurial capitalism identified by the sociologist Max Weber in his description of why and where capitalism itself was born, and how competitive economic ideologies commenced. During the 1990s the OECD supplanted the interest previously taken by UNESCO and other UN bodies in relation to literacy. The repeated calls of the UN system for action to alleviate poverty through attention to literacy education have gone largely unheeded. During the 1990s the OECD devoted considerable attention to literacy standards and attainments, but, alas, not for the poorest of countries but for the wealthiest. The approach of the OECD has been to show an empirical connection (1992) and a strong attachment (1997, 1998) to the idea that language education (understood as literacy attainments) is critically involved in making some economies more competitively successful than others, and in tying essentially language education achievement to other dimensions of economic performance.

Development assistance

The ideas on development set out by post-war US president Harry S. Truman have been seminal. What counts as 'development' today is very much influenced by the thinking of Truman as set out in his Inaugural Address[1] on January 20, 1949. Truman set out several 'major courses of action' which he envisaged as the future for the world after the devastation of World War II and at the beginning of the Cold War. The policies that emerged from this, and from the impact they had on shaping UN programming, have come to impact deeply on the design and underlying approach developed countries take towards development assistance programs, and the related programs of the aid receiving nations. Truman described his thinking as '... making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.'

This idea is really the basis of the modern phenomenon of development assistance and its underlying rationale of 'transfers'. Noting the miserable living conditions of more than half of the people of the world Truman observed that this gross inequality was also a threat to prosperous developed countries. As we have seen, the decade of the 1990s at least has shown that either the level or the nature of development assistance policy, or the levels and nature of the transfers, or the effects of globalisation, have markedly held back many countries. More than 51 years after Truman's 'bold new program' the global report card on who lives what kind of life in the world makes appalling reading.

In Truman's vision development was essentially a process of transferring technical know-how, rather than the transfer of wealth. There is no mention of cultural or sociohistorical circumstances, nor of paths to development that might differ, more or less substantially, from the US model of expansion, industrially based growth, representative democracy, and other features of western modernity. Truman's idea was that transferring technical capability would stimulate local food production, industrial infrastructure, and material advancement.

Over half a century after Truman's vision of a world engaged in 'transfers' to stimulate development, it is clear that what is involved is far more complex and multiple than linear patterns of development along pathways already marked out by others. The wider cultural issues involved are critical for an appropriate and full understanding of the pattern, but the focus in the present work is on only one factor, albeit a central one: language, literacy and communication.

The language and development connection has been a core theme in the writings of many pioneers in the discipline that most directly deals with this, language policy and planning studies. Indeed, for a long time, the very discipline of language planning seemed to be grappling with one issue assumed to be directly related to development: whether multilingualism was inevitably negatively correlated with national prosperity, or neutral in relation to prosperity. It was hardly discussed in the original scholarship that there might be a positive connection between linguistic diversity and 'development' of some kinds. The basic problem many of these early scholars were grappling with was why, it seemed to them, wealthy nations were monolingual and poor nations multilingual. Given that so much of early language planning theory was directed at developing nations[2], and that so many developing nations are linguistically heterogeneous, the nature of any connection between multilingualism and 'efficient operations' of state and economy occupied the attention of early language planners.

Out of this ferment of thought some assumptions (now controversial, and indeed repudiated) emerged. The following maxim was perhaps the strongest expression of poverty equals multilingualism thinking: '... a country that is linguistically highly heterogeneous is always undeveloped, and a country that is developed always has considerable language uniformity' (Poole 1972:213). Less extreme was Fasold's (1984:4) statement: 'It is obvious that multilingual states have problems that more nearly monolingual ones do not ... difficulties in communication within a country can act as an impediment to commerce and industry and be socially disruptive' and 'there is a definite relationship between linguistic uniformity and economic development' (p7). Although Fasold does instance some positive benefits of multilingualism, he argues that linguistic '... diversity is inversely related to development' conceding, however, that the relationship may not be causal, and may have to do with the arbitrary nature of postcolonial boundary settings which aggregated linguistically different groups (p 134). In a discussion along these lines, Pattanayak (1987) shows that a range of modern scholars have discussed multilingualism, and more generally, language diversity, negatively, as causing backwardness and economic underdevelopment.

The language-development connection is much more complex than any of the contemporary analyses allow. Ancient and multilingual India was hardly backward compared to more nearly linguistically uniform nations. Contemporary economic boom times in China happen in a nation that is linguistically complex and diverse. Relatively linguistically uniform Japan is in a decade long recession, and the US, at its most multilingual ever, has enjoyed vibrant economic growth. Many economically 'unsuccessful' national entities are not linguistically diverse. However, most problematically for the argument is the point that what surely is critical to economic progress within a single political nation is the degree of communication effectiveness, not the number of spoken languages, but whether communication is available across different language communities, via bilingual and multilingual capabilities. What is worse, however, is that the presumption that linguistic pluralism might inhibit economic development might in fact promote policies to restrict language diversity, provoking solutions far worse than the initial problems. Out of all this arises the issue of global communication effectiveness. Since language, of all markers of human difference, uniquely allows almost limitless multiplication, the 'solution' to communication problems would be more effective programs of language acquisition. If these, in turn, are conducted within an additive policy, and not one of restricting other languages' scope, the result is both increased communication and increased multilingualism. These are complex matters that invoke issues of identity, nation, culture, ideologies of belonging, religion and international allegiances, and conflicted history. To address in isolation from the specificities of history questions of narrowly conceived economic development, is to ignore critically important issues of context.

As Haq (1995) and Haq and Haq (1998) demonstrate, literacy, inevitably in local languages, is critical for the most essential kinds of development: health, basic education, nutrition and meaningful local enhancement of living conditions. Economic development, therefore, can only reinforce diversity, difference and local languages. Macro-level national consolidation for economic purposes will often be accompanied by the acquisition of national languages, and higher education will often be conducted, partially or totally, in specific subject areas or in whole sectors, in languages different from those learnt first by the students. Finally, the dominant views of very influential trade regulating organisations, such as the World Trade Organisation which has executive authority and sanctions power (unlike the weak persuasion and cajoling basis of UN organisations), all make the imperatives of the global exposure of national economies surface a need and a demand for languages of wider communication. Preeminent among these, of course, is English.

Voices from Phnom Penh

The present book is concerned with the connection between the fate and standing of languages (world languages, national languages and local vernaculars) in relation to economically understood development (economic and social processes of modernisation). As the papers that follow attest, 'languages' and 'development' interact with each other in multiple and complex ways. Local settings can differ dramatically in response to pressures and influences from globalisation: in some English as '*lingua mundi*' predominates, in others, local languages are revived in response to globalisation as national centres lessen their homogenising grip.

The field of development studies is as fraught with contest and diversity of opinion as is any other scholarly and practical field. This is inevitable given that there is no uniform way in which nations, and regions within nations, develop, nor even any universally accepted notion of what constitutes development. Development alone is understood in a myriad of ways, from narrowly economic indicators of material wealth and resource availability, usually expressed through statistically represented indexes of Gross National Product, income levels or distribution, and, in recent years, with the addition of measures and indicators of social wellbeing and health information. Most international agencies that deal with development questions (whether these relations are aid or trade oriented, colonising, or partnership inspired) include literacy as an indicator of development. In addition, 'culture' is now constituted by researchers and scholars in international relations who in the past relegated issues of human social difference to a role subordinate to economic factors and categories. While it is still common to find writing inspired by economic and trade considerations that does not even mention cultural and national differences (Ohmae 1994), there is increasing scholarship that attests that '[c]ulture makes almost all the difference' (Landes 2000).

According language and culture an appropriate place will involve navigating between extreme kinds of 'economism' in which human social differences barely count and equally undesirable extremes of 'culturalism' which would stress difference and otherness to the point of negating the essentially constructed nature of society, including its languages and its economies.

The issues that arise in considering such complex relations between development and language immediately connect us to economically motivated globalisation and its cultural consequences. This publication aims to make a contribution, both practical and theoretical, to such discussions. The 'development context' itself has a history of both politics and economics, and, indeed, has come to have a certain cultural significance in international affairs.

When associated with globalisation, a scrambling of connections and causes results, so that no longer are bi or multi-lateral relations the main ones addressed in considering aid flows, but the relatively new phenomenon of the interconnectedness of the world's economies and the consequences this has for all national economies, developed and developing alike. Indeed what is made most vulnerable in globalisation is the mediation of nation states (Giddens 1999), that is, the organisation of the world's land mass into sovereign state entities characterised by privileged cultures and languages that are attached to and are seen to describe and symbolise nationality.

The chapters

Margaret Hill from the University of Manchester, UK, reflects what might be called the epitome of the 'development dilemma' in her chapter. Hill has worked in Africa for 30 years for the Summer Institute of Linguistics in translation, literacy and language development, but is presently an international sociolinguistics consultant. Her description of the setting, circumstances and possibilities stands for many developing contexts which are multilingual, multi-ethnic and multiple in many other ways. In the African postcolonial experience, development imperatives and outsider imagined nation-making came face to face with pluralism on a scale that the European powers who had controlled these nations had not encountered. As a result, the nation-design has reflected images of the colonial source country, invariably with an imagined uni-lingualism and singular notions of literacy. Once inherited, however, these 'traditions' come to be applied energetically, or rejected, just as energetically.

Creating nations with design principles not appropriate for them gave rise to an entire discourse of overcoming inefficiency and, therefore, of marginalising or at least relegating linguistic diversity to the sidelines. In effect, this process created minority communities of language and culture, since tribal and traditional boundaries rarely coincided with the boundaries of the nationing state and were often incompatible with the ideology of nationalism that came to prevail (Mansour 1993). Hill's analysis of Mobutu's politics of 'authenticity' as a de-westernising strategy shows its far reaching effects into Zairian society, tense and unproductive relations with aid donors, tense and unproductive relations with churches and others running education, and, the ultimately devastating economic effects of a politics of nation-making that sought to distance western models, but did not sufficiently ground itself in 'natural' allegiances, traditions and practices of the demographic, linguistic and cultural reality of contemporary Zairian life.

Hill discusses adult literacy education in Lingala, Ngbaka and French, locating the development-language connection in the stratified world of postcolonialism, where authenticity and de-westernisation jostle alongside westernisation, 'efficiency' and aid imperatives. Micro-enterprises and small scale economic ventures influence the kind of literate-numerate competency that local people desire, as does the felt-need to interact with Bible reading in local languages. In the end, Hill's paper is optimistic about development and multilingual connections, in that, the old language planning ethos that language diversity correlated with poverty is inverted, so that the focus becomes a question of how literacy programs should be designed to accommodate to language diversity, speech patterns, diglossia and digraphia.

The role of vernacular literacy in community development is also explored by Kimmo Kosonen, a literacy specialist currently working on the Chong language project, and teaching linguistics at Mahidol University, Bangkok. The linguistic diversity that characterises SE Asia, and in this specific case, Thailand, is distinguished from Congo in that a majority culture and language, which is indigenous to the region, has a long established dominance. However, like nation states all over the world, the connection between nation (cultural affiliations, including language) and the state has produced the phenomenon of the linguistic minority, in this case the Chong, a small ethnolinguistic group of some 2000 people. Chong is endangered, and the project described by Kosonen analyses a literacy intervention aimed at stabilising the intergenerational linguistic pattern of the Chong. The question raised by Kosonen is the role of vernacular literacy in community development.

Here we have an instance of localised development, so that local social arrangements and practices are validated against norms of local value and experience. Faced with decreasing use of Chong, especially among children, the kind of language revitalisation effort that is required, and the sort of 'development' that this represents, are important implications of the chapter. Inevitably there are many stakeholders, whom Kosonen describes as either executive or supportive. Revitalising languages is a field of endeavour with a large and growing literature (Fishman 2001) and a growing relevance in many parts of the world. Program initiatives require that choices be made among fields to focus on in the re-vitalisation effort. In the case of Chong, these are linguistic research, literacy activities and awareness raising. Together, these work to elevate the esteem of Chong, but also to furnish a writing system capable of utilisation in literacy activity. In other chapters (e.g. Ferns, this volume) the production of literature to sustain language revitalisation programs is featured; in the case of Chong, literature production emerges as a critical issue for development intervention. The Chong program is based on acceptance of the need for Thai competence and, hence, bilingual and biliterate capability is one of its program goals.

The theme of indigenous minority languages and their connection to development contexts is extended by Nestor Castro, Assistant Professor at the Department of Anthropology of the University of the Philippines at Diliman. The Philippines government encourages development nationally, but must adapt its plans, ideas and programs to take account of local cultural diversity. The enactment of the Indigenous People's Rights Act is a critical factor which impacts on extension workers who liaise with local villagers about development plans on behalf of central agencies. The Act requires corporations to actively seek and obtain the consent of villagers to development initiatives, rather than merely having such bodies explain their intentions to locals without the need to negotiate their agreement. This directly raises the question of the role of local indigenous languages in relation to development issues.

Castro deploys the term 'development aggression' to describe the history of large scale development projects which have required indigenous people's compliance, either through re-location for logging concessions, or hydroelectric initiatives, plants or the activities of mining corporations. Evictions as well as other kinds of re-location are a dramatic instance of the sacrifices for development that have been imposed on minority language and culture populations. The Act that forms the basis of Castro's analysis passed into law in 1997, and obligates the state to a range of cultural, educational, social and linguistic procedures and entitlements for indigenous populations, including an acceptance of the legal standing of documents in their languages. The development-language connection of the past, in which minority languages were a source of discriminatory practices, has been supplanted by a progressive recognition in law of the standing of local languages.

Castro's tantalising conclusion is that the use of local languages has led to awareness among some tribal communities of the negative implications of some development projects, leading them to refuse authorisation. Prior to 1997, these communities would have only had the projects 'explained' to them. This anti-development possibility inflects the language-development connection in an interesting way. Local resistance can be traced directly to the greater political awareness that has resulted from elevating local languages to the status of codes for negotiation between the state, corporations and affected local groups.

The effects and impacts of ethnic and linguistic diversity in development contexts is also discussed in relation to the Lao People's Democratic Republic. A jointly authored paper by Mythong Souvanvixay, Onekeo Nouannovong, Khounmi Keovongsa and Gary Ovington (who collaborate on the Lao Australian Basic Education Project) traces the issue of second language learning, and Lao medium schooling, in the multiple language environment of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Souvanvixay et al. discuss the overrepresentation of ethnic minorities, rural peoples and women in literacy statistics, among other indicators of social, health and economic underdevelopment. These considerations frame the introduction of Concentrated Language Encounters, an approach to literacy education among minority language populations, originally devised with central Australian Aboriginal peoples, and which structures literacy intervention in relation to learning and linguistics theory influenced by functional approaches to grammar.

In the *Lao Australian Basic Education Project* where Concentrated Language Encounters has been the adopted teaching approach, Souvanvixay and his colleagues describe developing materials for teaching Lao literacy, as well as indigenous literacy. The program focuses mainly on girls' educational prospects and aims to achieve literacy success for this notoriously under-educated group. Although at an early stage in its development, the project is an intriguing example of minority literacy and development issues discussed in relation to African and Asian contexts in other chapters, which uses a methodology developed to overcome decades of unsuccessful literacy teaching for an oppressed minority population. Using CLE for second language (Lao) literacy offers the prospect of identifying the role of methodology innovation.

Literacy education itself is made multiple, not only in relation to languages, but also to modalities of literacy in Moses Samuels' chapter on sustaining a multiple literacies project in Malaysia. Samuels is Head of the Department of Language and Literacy Education, at the University of Malaya. He explores how the term 'sustainability', which he notes is a development literature buzz word, carries its own kinds of problems and limitations. Sustainability is discussed in reference to the Brundtland Commission's definition of sustainability, identifying a tension between present and future understandings of need. Samuels is committed to a multiple notion of development, exemplified in the semi-rural setting of Kelebang, where a multiliteracies education experiment is underway. Subject to 'overt development agendas' of government, Kelebang is a 'community in transition' straddling old and new, agricultural, low end industry-based economy, and a local "Silicon Valley" of advanced information communications technologies, and the globalised trading context within which these operate. Utilising the New London Group's notion of multiliteracies (Cope and Kalantzis 2000), Samuels critiques idealisations of sustainability to the extent that these imply the 'moral discourse of northern environmentalism'.

Christopher and Radha are students whose 'lifeworlds' are captured at this grid point of local and global, past and future, agriculture and high-tech, developing and developed, with a sense that the reading and writing practices in which they are engaged are a hybrid mixture of all these worlds simultaneously. In Samuels' analysis, students like Christopher and Radha 'mediate' these forces and influences.

Martin Ferns is an education publisher, with experience in educational publishing projects in Africa and Asia. His chapter addresses language policy, literacy development and book sector development in a range of development contexts. Ferns' analysis responds well to the themes, issues, problems and questions raised by writers concerned with indigenous, national language and world language literacy. Noting that development on its own invokes notions of economy or nation to be developed, but the collocation with language invokes educational and cultural issues, as well as the domain of the personal, Ferns discusses the 'book sector' as a kind of site in which all of these intersections between development and language have a role and relevance. Literacy is dependent on literature, if we mean language literacy, and indigenous or national literacies even more so. Ferns draws examples from many parts of the world showing how critical literature production is to the prospects for successful local language literacy efforts.

The role of Languages of Wider Communication (LWC) is taken up in several chapters, but directly by Ulrich Wannagat who considers German in China, David Hayes who addresses English in Sri Lanka, Thomas Clayton who analyses the place and role of English and French in Cambodia, Roslyn Appleby who discusses English in East Timor, and Shane Martin and Edmundo Litton who discuss English and Spanish in relation to the Philippines and Guatemala respectively. The term 'Languages of Wider Communication' can refer to more than those specifically mentioned (German, French, Spanish and English), since in some cases, especially when very small indigenous languages are discussed, the replacing language is often not an LWC but a national language, such as Thai, Khmer, Filipino, Vietnamese or Lao. Although English is the pre-eminent LWC in the world today, it is also in a category all of its own, largely because it is clearly the sole claimant to the global language tag, and therefore attracts attachments and repudiations in kind. It is also probably the case that English has managed to attain a distance from association with its original native speakers that its cultural resonance in many parts of the world makes it both a local as well as global language.

Ulrich Wannagat lectures at the National German Language Centre of the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture, and at the Beijing Language and Culture University. Wannagat's chapter shows the parallel considerations of language and development from the point of view of major languages of the world today, the demographic and other projections for them in the future, some critical distinctions in relation to how these languages have or come to have valency. His comparative and contrastive analysis of different languages, and the claims and projections that can be made in relation to them, is occasioned frequently with the emergence of international institutions with more clout

(The World Trade Organisation), than past manifestations of global co-operation or management of policy and resources (various United Nations agencies). However, Wannagat makes the interesting point that concern for keeping alive many cultural perspectives at a time of globalisation, in addition to constituting an argument for local and national languages, is also an argument for a diverse range of Languages of Wider Communication to be available.

David Hayes' chapter analyses the experience of The Primary English Language Project in Sri Lanka where he has been project manager of this UK-funded activity since 1996. Prior to his work in Sri Lanka, he was a lecturer in TESOL at the University of Leeds. As someone with extensive experience of trainer/teacher-training and curriculum development in South and Southeast Asia, his chapter reflects on the very critical dimension of social harmony, a vital ingredient of any prospects of economic development. Armed conflict in Sri Lanka, continuously fought since the early 1980s, is a critical context for the chapter. English has been reinstituted within the Sri Lankan constitution as 'link language', and in this respect it seeks to act as a vehicle for intercommunal communication.

Social harmony is a goal of English teaching even more than it is of other parts of the curriculum. Hayes discusses the complexities involved in ethnic representation, imagery in textbooks, relations between outside experts and local writers of curriculum, and the role of English in national goals of social harmony. The chapter gives prominence to the need to see language and development connections very much in relation to situated, specific and historical circumstances. What applies in one setting may not be similar to others, even when the same languages and some of the same kind of historical relations are involved. Sri Lankan education has long attained virtually equal literacy attainments for males and females, well ahead of most other comparable and certainly most neighbouring nations. The role of English in development issues in Sri Lanka is, therefore, specifically connected to minimising the language grievances that have been a part of the breakdown of national cohesion.

Thomas Clayton is an assistant professor of English and Linguistics at the University of Kentucky, USA. As a language-planning scholar who has lived and worked in Cambodia for many years, he wrote *Education and the Politics of Language: Hegemony and pragmatism in Cambodia, 1979-1989,* published in 2000 by the University of Hong Kong. This interesting book was on sale in Phnom Penh, and Clayton's chapter extracts from it the explanations put forward by educational policy-makers for continuing the use of international languages in education in developing countries. Specifically, he discusses National Integration, Comparative Cost, International Communication, Elite Closure, and Global Economic Integration. Clayton argues that when academics or education policy-makers defend French or English in Cambodia, and use one or more of these 'explanations', in doing so, the assumptions about the nature of society, and who that 'society' is taken to be, and how 'it' operates, are brought to the fore.

Clayton's reports of the reasons why LWCs continue to be prominent, of the relations between English and French, of the relations between the local advocates of one or the other and a host of other cultural, economic, influence-based calculations and interests open up whole fields of understanding about how economic and cultural questions are linked in the 'aid game'.

Roslyn Appleby, a lecturer in academic English at the University of Technology Sydney, provides an analysis of English teaching in East Timor. She discusses the discourses of globalisation, their 'origins in corporate strategy' and their relations to the ideology liberal capitalism. Appleby's study is a critique of traditional views of development and language connections, involving a re-evaluation of development policies with criticisms that 'aid programs ... benefit ... the economic and political interests of the donor rather than the recipient countries'. She provides an analysis of students' views of the various ways in which development is framed and understood, how students reacted to critical pedagogies and the critical language movements that have been prominent in English language teaching in recent years. Many students did not expect, or desire, to see in language materials and pedagogies critical perspectives. Many had already, in her sample of students, a critical consciousness about world issues and Timorese struggles for independence against various colonialisms had been radicalising experiences for them. For many, functional or instrumental attitudes to language did not preclude high levels of social and critical awareness.

English language education did not seem to equate strongly with either the dependency hypothesis of some radical scholars, nor with the completely benign characterisation of English that developed English speaking countries often prefer. Appleby's chapter introduces a third development paradigm in relation to language, one which comes from the work of critical pedagogies, and has been explored in English language teaching. This recognises the instrumental power of English, and acknowledges as legitimate the demand for English in many developing countries, yet avoids the determinism that sees this demand as a kind of intellectual or cultural self-imposition.

Shane Martin and Edmundo Litton are assistant professors at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, California, where they teach and research culturally responsive pedagogy, multicultural education and language acquisition. In their chapter, they contrast and discuss Guatemala and The Philippines in relation to languages, power and pedagogy. In Guatemala, after 36 years of war, peace accords now stipulate cultural and language accommodations. In this context the writers analyse the critical issues that will need to be addressed, such as the relations among the various constituent parties in the society, with specific reference to the roles of and attitudes towards the indigenous people and their languages. As the dominant language, Spanish is not unlike English with its vast international presence. At the same time that Spanish is the minority language par excellence in the United States, it is the socially dominant language in Guatemala. The writers address the dynamics of possible cultural accommodations, also in relation to the Philippines, where English and Filipino share national functions but towards which attitudes vary. English too of course has 'behind it', as it were, its global profile and so its national status is affected by this. The writers report attitudes in relation to the two languages and reflect on development possibilities in both settings.

Psyche Kennett is director of the English Language Teacher Training Project Vietnam, for the Centre for British Teachers. Her chapter is a contrast to Appleby's. According to Kennett, in 1997 Britain's Department for International Development (DFID), under New Labor, made poverty alleviation through 'Education for All' its main educational aim, and committed £600 million to the basic and primary education sectors. This represented a shift in policy, repudiating the Conservative government's focus on fostering English abroad as a development aim. In Kennett's analysis, the first victim of this new priority were programs that aimed to teach English to developing country government officials, which were scrapped. She considers that these programs were an 'easy target' associated with old style 'elitist, imperialist' agendas to 'win hearts and minds for Britain'.

Kennett discusses this issue from the interests of the professionalism of English language teaching and teacher training in development contexts, which, she argues, 'have always struggled to distinguish its credentials above the backpacker culture of jip-joint language schools, typified most aptly, in the mid-nineties, by Phnom Penh's Banana School of English'. In Kennett's paper, English is the language of powerful discourses and identities in the world. It has been identified as such and heavily critiqued for it. Some of its strongest advocates downplay their role in its promotion, including agencies of state that do most to promote it. And yet, as Kennett also shows, English is already a transnational language in many respects, or at least a trans-ethnicity language, or better still, a communicative medium of multiple and multiplying identities.

Also struggling with such intricate issues are people from developing countries who are not teachers but administrators, curriculum experts, researchers, planners and 'capacity builders' engaged in partnership arrangements with aid donors and experts. Some of these personnel are consultants, others are employees of agencies that operate moderately independently of governments, others are much more closely tied to agency or donor or recipient policy, and still others are engaged by private foundations, think tanks, religious or charitable organisations and unions. All these institutional affiliations have some impact on the relationships that are formed between donor and recipient. A key field where we can track these relations is the nomenclature. Some shy away from the term 'expert', others embrace it. The term 'foreign' carries a similar range of embracing or distancing. One instance where these meanings and relationships are given life is how 'outsiders' and 'insiders' come to collaborate in joint activities.

Bao Kham and Phan Thi Bich Ngoc are methodology specialists in the English Department at Hue University in Vietnam where they teach pre-service and inservice teachers. During the 1990s initial teacher education worldwide was under strong pressures for improvements in its outcomes. In developed and in developing country settings alike there has been attention paid to the effects of teacher training. In some settings, the US, Australia and the UK for example, teacher training has been pressed hard to account for what governments have judged to be unacceptable literacy performances of young people from standardised testing. In many developing countries — Vietnam is a clear example — there have also been dramatic transformations in the curriculum of teacher training to meet government demands.

One way this has manifested in Vietnam is in the demand for greater co-operation and partnerships between training institutions, schools and employing authorities, based often on the idea that the higher education institution is not responsive enough to the needs of schools and learners. Bao Kham and Phan Thi Bich Ngoc point out that the 'renewal of teacher education' came to be seen as something that partnerships with practicing teachers would help bring about, partly by using models from other professions of more traineeship, or apprenticeship based professional preparation. This meant that development aid came to be directed at this kind of partnership operation, and a related activity called 'institutional capacity building', as reported on and analysed by Suos Man and Sok Luong Chan from Cambodia. In both of these examples, and in others as well, complicated issues arise about how work is done together, whose expertise prevails, how collaboration is actually done, what are the concrete ways that people, 'foreigner experts' and 'local experts' operate. These papers are marvellously illuminating on the whole field of development, based on the idea of 'transfer' of technical skills, of development understood as poor countries 'catching up' with the rich countries. To me they signify that every development instance is unique, and the pathway that each adopts uses a variety of inputs into a culturally adaptive system, more or less influenced by outside, but in the end never a replica of the donor's expectations.

Suos Man and Sok Luong provide a compelling and critical overview of capacity building in the English Department, Institute of Foreign Languages, Royal University of Phnom Penh, primarily from the local perspective. They argue that capacity building is 'place-based', by which they mean to stress the specific context in which it occurs, its socio-economic circumstances and the history of the country. This is a useful caution against what is an ever-looming tendency in development contexts to think that transferring models that have been successful in one setting to another is a solution to local problems. Suos Man and Sok Luong Chan offer some very useful ideas and concepts about the practice of capacity building, seeing it as 'building up the skills and knowledge of the people who work within an institution, such as a university, so that the institution may serve the society more effectively'. The massive dislocations and upheavals of Cambodian politics have led to many of its institutions becoming 'disembedded due to war' but they remain 'parts of the culture and history'.

The Royal University of Phnom Penh, formerly the Khmer Royal University, was founded in January 1960. It then contained a Faculty of Letters and Humanities and a Faculty of Science and Technology, in both of which the language of the instruction was French. In 1970, the Khmer Royal University became the Phnom Penh University with nine faculties. The medium of instruction was still mainly French, but 'Khmerisation was growing at the secondary and primary levels with an increasing number of textbooks being translated'. Of course, what followed was a period of devastating war, and from 1975-1978 there was extensive closure and destruction of schools, the murder of many educated people leading to the 'decimation of the teaching service and the cessation of formal education'. The university was closed, along with other education institutions, during this period. Even after the cessation of outright fighting and violent revolution, the university remained closed for five years, few of its staff surviving the terror.

In 1981, the university was re-opened as a Teacher Training College, and the Institute of Foreign Languages taught mainly Russian and Vietnamese. Until the late 1980s, the medium of instruction was Khmer, Russian and Vietnamese. Capacity building at this time focussed on teacher training and the production of texts and materials. Inevitably associated with the languages in which advisers, and indeed local experts, are proficient, are a whole range of immediate and long term interests that led to affinity groups among some donors, distancing of others, local and wider networks and immensely complex relations of power, influence and co-operation.

Aid itself is a vast enterprise. There are many agencies, and kinds of agencies, whose interests, ideologies and practices have an impact. The Cambodia conference heard from Robert Hausmann of the Open Society Institute, which is part of the George Soros Foundations. In his chapter, Hausmann analyses the Eastern European Bilingual School system and English language programs developed with support of the Open Society Institute, arguing that the successful teaching of international languages should be a high priority for countries looking for ways to stimulate economic development.

The Soros Foundations enshrine a particular vision of development and modernity and associate language, free exchange of information and English with it. Development has values as well as pathways. For Soros, as expressed by Hausmann, the development process is consonant with the view that Truman set out; the transfer to developing nation settings of the success features of already developed societies. In aid, therefore, there are also the legacies of successful men like the Hungarian financier, George Soros, whose experiences of state communist politics and education, and free market operations in the United States, has induced him to want to share his vision and success with Eastern Europe in general.

Perhaps the language that Harry S. Truman would use in 2001 would be what Bonaventure Mbida-Essama, Chief, World Bank Cambodia sets out as the thinking of the World Bank in relation to its education investments. He discusses the connection between physical and human capital and the notion of 'rates of return'. The World Bank looks to 'rate of return' to compare different education investments from which they need to select some, and to advise developing country governments. A rate of return calculation is expressed as the annual percentage of an investment. Alongside rate of return, along with other investment calculations in human capital, agencies such as the World Bank also consider the notion of 'opportunity cost', that is, the income the person who 'invests' in a university education will have to forego if he or she had chosen to work immediately after school.

Adding together calculations for individuals along the lines of opportunity cost and rates of return, with calculations of the effect on national income, the World Bank, and national governments in receipt of its loans, make calculations about language in development terms.

With expertise in language project evaluation, Hywel Coleman (Senior Fellow in the University of Leeds, UK, and university adviser on Indonesia) is currently involved in the ongoing impact measurement of the UK-funded primary English project in Sri Lanka. His chapter addresses the process of project evaluation from several different perspectives to evolve an alternative approach.

His desire to achieve this arises from dissatisfaction with language education evaluation models currently employed. Coleman informs a new approach to project evaluation by interrogating what non-education development and non-language education for development fields incorporate in, and how they conceive, their project evaluation modes. His analysis of how these related, but different, fields conceptualise and implement project evaluation finds that they are no more internally consistent, uncontroversial or settled than language project evaluation methods. His survey reveals a great deal about the attempt to 'fix', in technical analytical ways, matters in which interest and ideology also play a role.

Jacqueline Dyer is a Vietnam-based trainer and educational researcher with previous work experience in Europe and North Africa. Her chapter addresses a key theme elevated by the notion that 'aid' and 'development' might have some universal, or trans-cultural validity and transferability. She analyses 'culture' in the context of educational administration in response to a need to know more about dynamic processes involved in how educational institutions operate. This 'need to know' is motivated by the inability of 'transfer' models of aid and development co-operation initiatives to come to terms with difference, and the inevitability that development pathways will reflect local cultural practices, histories and societal settings.

Dyer traces the 'culture concept' and discusses many of its manifestations in relation to organisational settings, including cross-cultural psychology and business studies. On the basis of comparative data about societal cultures, and culture in organisations, Dyer assesses values, beliefs and practices in Vietnamese higher education with a view to inform policy-making for higher education reform.

Lilliana Hajncl is a teacher and materials developer with recent work experience in East Timor and currently works in the research and development unit of the Adult Multicultural Education Services in Melbourne, Australia. Her chapter co-author is Barbara Fitzgerald, who has been the coordinator of the Australian union movement's Union Aid training programs in Cambodia for 10 years. In their chapter they report on gender, language and power issues in technical and vocational education, literacy and English language and agricultural training for poor rural and urban women, in both Cambodia and East Timor. The programs focus on what the authors describe as those 'whose rights to development are restricted or denied'. Their documentation of the partnership-based nature of these programs concludes that 'women are very keen to empower themselves through education and training'. The design of programs and aid projects is critically important to ensure that women can play an active and prominent role in all the activities.

Monica Janowski is a social anthropologist working at the Natural Resources Institute of the University of Greenwich in the UK, and an experienced teacher of English as a foreign/second language, and Kaz Janoswski is a producer at the BBC World Service, working in BBC English. Their chapter documents a radio series aiming to communicate research, carried out by technical and social scientists working in development, to a wide audience. The series was accompanied by printed material and websites. The chapter discusses the processes and outcomes of providing material in more than one medium as a mode for enhancing cross-cultural communication, and for enhancing receptivity and effective communication. The chapter provides important documentation of the medium, and its attendant communication process. The focus of the writers is on how to devise a communication modality that incorporates dialogue, and therefore how to accommodate feedback.

As a Professor of English at the University of the Ryukyus in Japan, Gaylene Levesque focuses her chapter on how to apply research findings in the language classroom. She points out that the failure of application is often because research results are not framed with practical application in mind, and are too obscure in their implications for busy teachers to apprehend what implications they might have for practice. Her chapter seeks to overcome these obstacles for languages educators in development contexts. Specifically, she looks at the findings of cognitive psychologists on how people learn. Her practice-oriented chapter aims to assist classroom teachers in overcrowded, resource-poor environments to enhance educational effectiveness through research-based teaching.

Richard Sproat was director of The English Language Centre of Australia, in Bangkok, and for two years has been working in distance education in Burma. His chapter addresses the Burma, which over the last half century, has been wracked by conflict and turmoil, and how its travails have produced a humanitarian crisis along its international border and elsewhere in the country. The general economic impoverishment that has resulted makes aid issues directly relevant to Burma, a country that once had much brighter prospects. The tertiary distance education project in which he is working is in an area of insurgency, conflict and instability, vulnerable in its attempt to serve various ethnic interests and needs when they have been engaged in conflict and there are large numbers of internally displaced persons. The choice made to conduct this program via English, and Sproat's discussion of this, also confirms the inextricable connection between development prospects and language issues.

Also dealing with distance education is Quoc Hung Tran, specifically in relation to testing in distance education in Vietnam. Quoc Hung Tran has worked as an English language lecturer at Can Tho University; his tertiary studies are from the University of Massachusetts, in the United States. His chapter reveals a remarkable process of national development of instruments for measuring English proficiency attainment. As a result of the work that is documented, including the procedures of validation and assessments of how to sustain the initiative over the longer term, Vietnam has developed international-standard tests for its own use. The achievement is a significant one, in that, it may lessen Vietnamese dependence on foreign experts in relation to the development needs it has identified for English over the longer term.

The final chapter in the book is by Ha Van Sinh reporting on teacher education and English in Vietnam. Ha Van Sinh is a TEFL teacher and teacher-trainer in Nha Trang Teacher-Training College, and is presently completing a Doctorate in Education at La Trobe University, Australia, by distance education. In this chapter he addresses the consequences of a shift in professional focus in English teaching. Ha Van Sinh is concerned with teacher improvement, increased effectiveness, and the various ways in which this can be effected. In particular, how teachers are supposed to take responsibility for their own teaching and be able to describe and evaluate their teaching practice.

New texts on English are to be introduced in Vietnamese secondary schools from September 2002 and teacher self-monitoring capabilities become more urgent in this context. The new textbook adopts a communicative approach and the chapter addresses this self-improvement need within the resources and context of Vietnamese higher education.

Conclusion

As noted earlier, development studies is a contested field. There is no unidirectional way in which nations, or underdeveloped regions within nations, develop. There is also little agreement about what constitutes development. Some descriptions of development concentrate on narrowly economic indicators of material wealth and resource availability, though in recent years it has become more common to find indicators of social and health wellbeing included. Increasingly, agencies that deal with development questions include literacy as an indicator of development. There is considerable justification for doing this, but also some problems.

And, as can be seen from the chapters in the book, there are a myriad of ways in which language and development issues are connected. This is because no economic development occurs outside of, or separate from, human cultures and societies. Past tendencies of economic scholarship to divorce the analysis of economic fields of life from their inevitable deep embeddedness in social, cultural, and communicative contexts, are ceding space to richer theorisations of the social and the economic.

The main aim of the conference was to provide a forum for professionals in the field of language teaching in development contexts to discuss issues related to how language education, and communication in general, impact on development processes. The chapters represent an impressive range of the complexities involved in linking language and development. They also contain recurring themes that supply elements of a pattern of connections between language and development. These are found in the Asian, Latin American, and African contexts where the need for local mastery of English (and other languages of wider communication) to facilitate global participation raises a myriad of resultant questions: cultural politics; issues about levels and extent of literacy in local languages; the social upheaval that can result when mastery of prestige languages is acquired only by elites further entrenching existing inequalities; the appropriation by locals of power over the tools and techniques of languages of wider communication.

Among the many insights in the chapters that follow are those of the 'micro-politics' of the language classroom, the project team, book or literature production units, distance education, testing, research and its applications, language policy and many more. These are all instances of the local manifestation of issues and tensions that arise because languages have differential power and status in the world. These micro instances are no less important or interesting than the macro context, which, after all, is only ever experienced in its local effects. The relations within a micro setting, say, of an international project team (a partnership between developing country personnel and 'foreign experts') can have a direct and sometimes sharp connection with wider social, economic and political disparities of power and status. Discussions of relations between insider expertise and personnel, and outsider expertise and personnel, provide a counter to the sense that prevails in much development assistance programming that 'transfers' and 'technical' assistance are really all that is going on in aid. What is really going on, quite often, are localised relations among people who have institutional roles that precede them, and that reflect the relations between the donor and the recipient. These prior relations influence how the locals and the 'foreigners' relate.

Development agencies often represent 'language development' as an analogue of what Truman saw in economic or industrial terms, an uncomplicated process of the transfer of skills and techniques from an 'advanced' to a 'developing' context. Several of the chapters in this book problematise this analogy, offering both very positive evidence of collaborative, mutually beneficial relations, and of some characterised by tension and misunderstanding. As far as language is concerned, it seems very unlikely that uncomplicated transfer can ever occur.

The claimed benefits of English (and other languages of wider communication) are usually tied to ideas of economic mobility, but, can economic mobility for some individuals ever really be treated in isolation from surrounding political events and circumstances, the existing differences in opportunity in a given society, or its national culture? How could a language of wider communication ever come to have local presence, which it must do to overcome the 'foreign' tag, without impacting on the political life of the nation?

The slow, conflicted, but eventually successful emergence of world Englishes since the de-colonisation process of post-World War II indicates how necessary it is for languages to reflect local cultural affiliations and attachments, to carry local identities as well as past associations and instrumental promises. A global economy is dependent on having effective means of communication, and English has been pressed into service for this role, but English today, in its role as world language, is a vast array of indigenised, localised practices of communication in which local standards function alongside more international ones.

Teachers are immersed in all this, their own ways of representing as well as doing the teaching of English, local languages, and other languages of wider communication are important not only as reflecting global conditions but in realising local possiblities. In turn, teaching will interact with the parallel, but possibly divergent, even irreconcilable, views and expectations of students, and of the local societies in which languages of wider communication are introduced or promoted. And what holds for teaching holds for all the other activities involved in language and development: policy-making, planning, broadcasting, testing, training, etc. In none of these can we see a uni-linear development trajectory, but rather, a dynamic interaction between history, culture, politics and economic opportunity, all mediated by language and literacy communications with local and wider meanings and reach. These questions are very richly documented in this volume.

Notes

[1] Truman's speech is available on the White House Presidential Archives Website.

[2] A seminal text in the field; Rubin, J., and Jernudd, B.H, (eds) 1971, *Can Language be Planned*? (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), was subtitled: *'Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations'* but the interest in development and language connections predate this by decades.

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2 English and East Timor

Roslyn Appleby

Globalisation and local identity

The discourses of globalisation have their origins in corporate strategy closely integrated with liberal capitalism. Traditional paradigms of development have also been linked to the global spread of liberal capitalism through the programs of international development agencies. Within these programs, development tends to be an homogenising force aimed at the implementation of universal patterns of economic modernisation that inevitably involve English as a language of international communication. However, while the forces of globalisation tend to favour homogenisation rather than diversity in both political economies and identities, national and local contestations of globalising forces can emerge in a variety of forms. In English language education, globally marketed textbooks and methodologies are received, interpreted and reconstructed in the context of local cultural politics and through the prism of individual identity.

A development program of English language training in East Timor at the time of decolonisation was conducted with the aim of preparing students for re-entry to university education and for vocational purposes. While the program was planned within conventional discourses of English language teaching, the unique conditions of local history and cultural politics produced counter discourses in which local identity was constructed in the language of globalisation.

Traditional and critical views of development and education

Mirroring the traditional view of global relations which divide the world between 'developed', or modern, and 'undeveloped', or traditional, nations, international aid programs assume that undeveloped countries can be progressed along the modernisation continuum with the help of economic, technical, educational and social assistance from developed countries. Educational aid programs have been a significant part of the modernisation effort, training the workforce and inculcating modern values and beliefs in the population.

In a critique of this traditional view, a re-evaluation of development policies has led to criticisms that third world countries were not developing as they should while aid programs were benefiting the economic and political interests of the donor rather than the recipient countries. Rather than experiencing an economic 'take-off', 'newly developed states found themselves in some way more dependent on their former colonial masters than they had been during the colonial era' (Ricento 2000:200). In terms of educational aid, this dependency is linked to the use of western educational forms and models; the use of western languages in all levels of education, especially higher education; the reliance on western academic books and journals, mostly in English. A result of this dependency is that peripheral universities become consumers rather than producers of knowledge, and that the knowledge consumed is the product of an agenda set by the developed nations.

Although critical interrogation suggests that the discourses of development embody domination, economic exploitation and the invention of the third world, educational aid programs do not necessarily fit into a neat model of purposeful cultural imperialism, but are improvisations within a general strategy of extending influence (Phillipson 1992). Within these improvisations, the link between education and development is not well defined, there is little agreement on the broad purposes of educational aid and difficulty in diagnosing problems to be solved and in selecting remedies for them.

Varying paradigms which attempt to explain the spread of English as an international language reflect the traditional and critical paradigms of development aid. In the traditional paradigm, the growth of English, associated with the British Empire and then the political and economic dominance of the United Sates, is linked to beneficial modernisation, progress and development.

A different view, detailed by Phillipson (1992), holds that English is a language of imperialism and class interests which poses a threat to indigenous languages and acts as a gatekeeper to socio-economic advantage and influence, and produces and maintains global inequalities between different parts of the world. English language teaching methodology, while purporting to be universal and scientifically based, is seen as a set of western cultural practices which are sometimes at odds with the socio-cultural, attitudinal, pragmatic and economic realities of other countries. According to critical interpretation, this scientist, positivist discourse emphasises questions of efficiency in teaching and learning, rather than questions of cultural and political power.

A third paradigm of critical pedagogies has been explored in English language teaching (ELT), especially in migrant education (see, for example, Auerbach 1995, 2000) and other programs outside development aid in non-English speaking countries (see, for example, Canagarajah 1993, 1999), that recognises the power of English, yet avoids determinism by acknowledging that English can be taken up and changed to create new identities and counter-discourses. However, there are few examples in either development or applied linguistics literature of these pedagogies being utilised in language in development programs. There is a 'missing link between development studies and sociolinguistic studies, especially that part of sociolinguistics that deals with language planning...' (Abbott 1990:178).

Defining the role of English language in development

Language in development programs often restrict English language training to vocational, technical or academic purposes, tying modernisation to improvement in the workforce through education. In order to implement these programs, English language teaching often focuses on functional, generic, structural or communicative curricula and methodologies to improve the language proficiency of students, so that they can access various economic and academic opportunities. Reflecting the economic rationalism of globalisation, another feature of aid programs involving English language teaching has been the restriction to short time frames and focus on measurable outputs, accountability and efficiency (Sharp 1998). These restrictions militate against the flexibility and responsiveness required by teachers in developing an awareness of the language, culture and existing educational environment in which they are working.

The influences of social, cultural, economic, historical and political concerns outside the classroom walls may not be openly acknowledged in the classroom culture, in spite of their determining influence on teachers' and students' lives and learning. However, classrooms 'both in themselves and in their relationship to the world beyond their walls, are complex social and cultural spaces' (Pennycook 2000:89) where different social and political worlds interact with unpredictable consequences. So, while the micro-politics of the classroom thus reflects and reproduces large scale social, economic and political structures, within the relatively autonomous space of the classroom (Canagarajah 1993), participants respond to these forces in unique ways.

Articulating models: having more and being more

In situations where development programs are conducted under conditions of extreme political and social upheaval, and the country is rebuilding from a state of near total collapse, the safe English teaching world of modern methods and textbooks provides a stark contrast to the daily lives of students. With no stable educational or vocational structures, no academic institutional requirements or 'host government' restrictions, no clear currency or focus for English in daily life and so on, English language programs may operate in something of a vacuum. While a great variety of data could be used to describe the classroom culture in this situation, I want to look at conventional English language textbooks and the students' responses in their journal writing, as representations of different world views that play a part in the building of classroom life. If students in this situation are free to write in English without the limitation of specified forms and content, what ideas and identities are written?

For the students in English language programs, while the influence of globalisation linked to the spread of English brings a demand for the socio-economic advancement, perceived to be inherent in the language, the emergence of national identities following independence can provide opportunities for students to use English to build on more localised interests, construct their own identities and become authors of their own worlds (Pennycook 1997). These two desires, to 'have more', in terms of the material conditions of life, and to 'be more', through the construction of identity in text, could be explored in language learning programs.

To examine some of these issues, I want to discuss the classroom culture that developed in an English language teaching program in East Timor less than a year after the historic vote for independence from Indonesia. In this language in development program we can see the various world views represented by the program participants as they interacted within the classroom and within a complex national situation of immense change.

The historical and linguistic context

Previously a country of coastal and mountain kingdoms, East Timor was for centuries part of the Portuguese trading and colonial network. After being the site of battle between Australian and Japanese troops in World War II, Portuguese rule resumed with renewed vigor until moves towards colonisation in the 1970s and the formation of political parties by the Portuguese-educated elite. A full-scale invasion and 24-year occupation by Indonesia prevented independence, yet the resistance that was embedded in East Timorese society meant that the new Indonesian province was never pacified. An overwhelming vote for independence in 1999 unleashed a wave of violence and destruction that left the country in a state of collapse with no government, legal or health systems, educational institutions or basic infrastructure to supply electricity, water or food. Thousands were killed and thousands more left dislocated and homeless.

The linguistic ecology of Timor is closely tied to this history. Portuguese co-existed with many indigenous oral languages for centuries and Tetum, based on one of the indigenous languages with Portuguese borrowings, became a language of common communication. After 1975, Indonesian became the national language and the medium for education. Portuguese became, in a sense, the language of the resistance through its links with the pre-1975 political parties, and Tetum was strengthened through its links to the Catholic church after Portuguese was banned from the liturgy. Following the vote for independence, East Timor's coalition of resistance parties, the CNRT (Timorese National Resistance Council), declared that Portuguese was to be the new 'national language', Tetum the 'official' language and English and Indonesian 'unofficial utilities'. The official languages of the university were to be Portuguese and English.

In 2000, East Timor was host to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), a multinational Peace Keeping Force (PKF), the UN Civilian Police (Civpol) and a multitude of international aid agencies assisting in the country's stabilisation and reconstruction. Integrally linked to this presence was the English language serving as the language of communication amongst these groups. As Hajek has noted, in the year 2000, 'the linguistic situation in Timor [was] nothing less than chaotic' (2000:409).

As the status attributed to various languages is implicated in subtle forms of social control, the struggle over language policy reflects broader social and political struggles (Wiley 1996). In East Timor, the debate over which language was to be used in which domain was vigorously contested. A younger generation, who had played an active role in the resistance, spoke one or more indigenous languages and were educated solely in Indonesian, feared economic and political disadvantage as a result of the status accorded to Portuguese. Student organisations requested that the UN provide English language training in the interim period prior to the reopening of the university. The resultant language program, funded by a foreign government through development agencies, was conducted in the disused university campus controlled by the student body. The students were highly politicised, had learning styles shaped by difficult educational and personal experiences, and were facing an uncertain future. The program was aimed at raising the English language proficiency of the students by one level on an international language testing scale, and was to focus on content and vocabulary connected to the students' intended field of study. In addition, the program hoped to provide vocational English to access the perceived economic opportunities that had arisen as a result of international operations in the country.

Extreme economic, social and political disruption, layerings of colonial and military interference, and an interconnected, complex language web — these formed the broad and complex context in which the English language program operated. Within the classroom these influences manifested in various ways.

English in the classroom

Two common expectations of English teaching need a mention here. Firstly, while it is accepted that English needs to be used communicatively in 'meaningful situations', as indicated above, such situations were difficult to distinguish in Timor in 2000. There were virtually no jobs, no books, no teachers, and no study, any of which may have provided a focus for English language use. Neither was there any Timorese government, as we usually think of it, to determine or control the use of the language.

Secondly, while it is also commonly accepted that English should be taught 'in context', related to the learning experiences, daily lives, or plans of the learners, there was an equally strong expectation of teacher authority from both students and program managers in the sense that teachers would set a curriculum, employ appropriate methodology, and achieve set outcomes for the course. I would suggest that the notions of 'contextualisation' and teacher authority are somewhat in conflict here, as the expertise on context could only have come from the students. The involvement of students in developing participatory curricula requires an approach to planning, the setting of objectives and achievement of outcomes that is at odds with the predetermined plans, fixed and measurable outcomes, and limited timeframes of many language programs in development contexts.

English language textbooks

The expectation of teacher authority in the classroom and a lack of printed resources in the community led to an initial reliance on fairly conventional methodologies (communicative, functional or genre based) and textbooks for teaching, although of course they only provided a part of the whole classroom culture.

Critical views of orthodox ELT materials and methodology suggest that these embody discourses relating to cultural norms and ideologies (Holliday 1994, Pennycook 1994, and others), interests and lifestyles alien to this context. Globally marketed textbooks, especially, represent materialistic and middle class lifestyles and values in their constructions of daily life (Brown 1990), and embody assumptions that 'the west is best', representing a state of modernity or 'normality' to which the rest of the world might aspire.

In Timor the common representations of textbook 'normality' did not exist: no phones, libraries, job ads, banks, computers, washing machines, kitchen appliances, supermarkets, books, or pets. The lived culture of the students, which was marked by economic struggle, political turmoil and concerns such as the retribution for war crimes and repatriation of militia, provided a stark contrast with the world of the textbooks.

Students responded to these texts and their activities in a variety of ways. While some, mostly those educated in off-shore Indonesian universities, adapted to the new behaviours and attitudes required in conventional ELT texts and methodologies, others responded with silence and confusion. Rather than interpreting this as 'passivity' or educational 'deficits', however, this response can be read as a form of resistance to alienating discourses (Canagarajah 1993), as a means of rejecting irrelevant texts (Auerbach 1995), or as recognition that students in these situations rarely have the authority to be 'legitimate speakers' (Pierce 1995). Both the 'resistance' and 'rejection' interpretations indicate an independence in the construction of student learning.

How were students' responses to the discourses of English language teaching expressed in their written texts?

Students' texts: responses to the dominant discourses of ELT

Students' writing in the program included a range of texts from sentence level exercises, longer structured texts based on specific functions and genre, through to unstructured journal writing and texts based on a free choice of topics. The students' unstructured writing presented a markedly different world to that presented in the English language textbooks. For many students this was obviously a preferred mode of communication through which they constructed an identity in the foreign language.

Language, claims Weedon (1987), is a place where social organisation and political consequences are defined and contested, and where our subjectivity is constructed.

Written texts provide a space for students to represent 'lived experience in the public form' (Kramsch and Lam 1999:60), actualising a social reality through a rhetorical use of the foreign language. The foreign language is thus appropriated to develop a social persona 'not built on the identity of an Other in a foreign or second language' (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy 1999:422). Some extracts from unstructured journal writing by the students indicate an identity closely tied to the cultural politics of the new nation. The determination of students to address issues of wider cultural and political concern, despite the difficulty of constructing the 'lived experience' in English, rather than the topics usually associated with either technical or general language training, speaks for the strength of these discourses in permeating classroom life.

English and access to global opportunities

The impact of the international presence in East Timor was evident in the students' desire to learn English, and was expressed in journals and other written texts. A theme in the writing of students was the newfound global place of Timor, the linking of English language to this global perspective, and the place of students in relation to the nation's destiny:

> English is the international languages very important to my self. I must learn English because we had inside globalisation era with foreign country. Communication in English can pick up me in international community. I can have everything information for another country like culture, politics, economic, science etc. and to follow technology, microelectronica, biotechnolgi on the industries country like Japan, England, America, Europe etc.
>
> In East Timor English language very important for Eat Timor people. Because East Timor nation had being a nation new. And East Timor is a nation which just indepndenc.

The new nation's consequent interdependence with other countries was also recognised:

> After Timor Loro Sae got freedom on August 30 1999, English language is very important. because Timor Lor Sae cann't live self. This is important to make decision anything.

Other students writing on this theme of the international-national-personal connection included ideas such as:

> language english a language the world
>
> I can join words with the people from another country, then that is very important for my country. If the country need for help then I already for example Diplomat
>
> all student must study hard on speaking, writing and listening. Because now in Timor country many people which come from all country, where now they lived in Timor ... East Timor people want to speak with people which from abroad must now speak English because majority they can't speak Tetum language

Some students emphasised a motivation to learn English as a passport for exodus abroad as a student:

> If I can practise [English] good I will going study an abroad.
>
> I'm planning after that finish english course can I continue in Australia about 6 months

A class survey revealed motivations for learning English that clearly equated the language with access to socio-economic power through international connections. About half the students said they wanted to learn English because it is an international or world language, slightly less than half wanted English for study, either in Timor or Australia, about a quarter mentioned English for work, to speak with tourists and 'to build the country'. Responses from some students showed positive attitudes towards and motivation to learn English, inspired by personal ambitions for educational and career advancement on the one hand, and on the other hand, a nationalistic fervour which aims to situate Timor in the recently accessible global community.

Resistance to representations of globalisation

Although most journal writing did not address the textbook contents, a cogent example of students' opposition to the alien discourses they presented was produced after a lesson where students studied pictures of supposedly typical western houses replete with furniture and modern appliances. While such pictures are presumably intended to provide rich inspiration for vocabulary development, the message of wealth in the acquisition of such consumer items necessary to provide suitable comfort in a western home provided the basis for some interesting comparisons made in subsequent student writing. One student's description of his house gave some insight into the cultural distance between a house that is defined by material possessions and a house that provides shelter and peace:

> I live in Cidade Street. West of Dili city. it is simple house and not have expencive accessoreis like expensive sofa, sterio, lamp or do not have expensive interior rooms and exterior rooms. But my family can be stay ther with shadow and piece.

Another describes a house which is small and crowded but happy:

> My house is very small but I'm very happy. in the house I have four brothers and five sisters. In the house I have four bedroom. two bedroom to my father and brothers and two another bedroom to my sisters and I. I have a garden and my garden I to plant flowers and fruit ... In the house I'm very happy.

The most prevalent themes arising in the students' writing revealed a marked political consciousness, again locating the personal experience in a larger political perspective. Students related both personal recounts of the resistance and also historical events in the national struggle for independence:

> Twenty five years ago when East Timor people fight with Indonesian regime. a lot of people feels under pressure. For example: discrimination, violence, warriors,

> etc. and untill September one years ago we celebrated liberation of East Timor which many peoples for another country give supports to our human rights. For now East Timor peoples have be makes everything and free nation. Free for speaks, free for works and security.

Students reflected on the enormity of the challenges involved in the nation's new identity:

> Understanding about nation identity and to proud as East Timor peoples like patriotism, my herroes and my country. but we have challenge on the future like the fight against illiteracy ... In our future is good can proved by what are begin now. and gived contribution for our nation and our country.
>
> As the world know about East Timor new country because the country start to zero (0). All the goods paroporty East Timor destroid by militia pro Jakarta so we will trying make and found building, construction and than people and my lang to better.

Students also made observations on and responses to the role of the UN Transitional Government:

> UNTAET to in East Timor directions to collection two asigment excellent how we looks at under here:
>
> first assigment to buildup come back in east timor. and secondly assigment or peporation East timor direction to independent total ... in order can developmen timor become like many country in the world.

However, the workings of the UN remained obscure to much of the population and the resulting sense of alienation and frustration is captured in the observations made in a students' journal entry:

> Everiday if we around on the streets and see many people very busy and staff UNTAET with UN cars very busy too but what are they doing? Maibe they have a meeting and spoke about East Timor future but haw about action like development problems, educational problems and market orientation. UNTAET has progress about 10 months but can't programs for gived solution for emergency problems ...

What do the students' written English language texts tell us about the context in which English language was being used? The role and impact of the UN, East Timor's relationship with Australia, the nation's past and future and memories of the years of occupation; topics such as these were recurrent themes in journal writing and were especially evident at the time of the anniversary of the referendum when most students attended memorial services and celebrations. Considering the determination to write these stories, it was apparent that students were keen to integrate their experiences and views into classroom activities, and they provided a clear contrast with and resistance to the topics presented in the textbooks. While the students' writing continued to express the link between learning English and access to individual and national socio-economic progress, their writing also constructed an alternative identity based on historical and political concerns integrating local and individual experience.

Negotiated texts

In the complex culture of the classroom, Canagarajah (1999) suggests that curricula and pedagogy are mediated by both the teacher and students in a process of conscious and unconscious adjustment. As a result, the teachers' planned methodologies, text books and syllabus provided only some of the initial elements of classroom discourse around which teachers and students could negotiate teaching and learning, and begin to share their knowledge and experience. Over the course of the program, as teachers and students shared ideas, knowledge and culture, jointly constructed texts engaged the classroom in an exploration of ideas and content arising from the local situation: traditional stories; the past and present physical environment of Dili, including institutions that were previously closed to students; problems and challenges facing individuals and the nation; language and economic issues and visions for the future, both personal and national.

Some of these texts focussed on issues that were acceptable within the context of a development program: letters requesting more financial assistance for studies or more language programs; application forms for scholarships to study overseas; surveys and debates on problems and solutions for the national administration; interviews on more personal matters of concern or opinion. However, some topics were clearly outside the agenda set by the orthodoxies of language training tied to development funds, although they were pressing issues of local and national concern comprising the daily lives of students and the community: the role of the western countries in the Indonesian occupation; the role of those same western countries in the development process; the pace and priorities of development; questions as to the actual beneficiaries of aid funds; the role of English language in the community and the historical impact of English in other non-English-speaking communities; the lack of jobs for Timorese; the vast differences between the lifestyle of foreigners and local people; the distribution of wealth flowing from international agencies. All these seemed pertinent to the future of the students and the building of the nation.

While engagement with such broad political concerns has been the focus of language programs based on Freirian pedagogy in both indigenous and immigrant communities, the nexus between funding, donor interests and government scrutiny in development projects may prevent an open exploration of these issues and themes. Limiting language programs to specific vocational purposes and focussing on promoting economic mobility within the status quo, has benefits in terms of targeting programs to specific goals and ensuring that language acquisition is efficient and useful. However, in situations of intense political unrest and change, where many different interests are involved in forging the future of a nation, where these are concerns that actively engage students, and where language issues are integral to the structuring of political relationships, there seems to be a need for an approach to language teaching in development aid that accommodates these issues.

Local discourses for a globalised world

The key concept that should motivate English teachers in the 21st century, suggests Warschauer (2000), is agency, a concept that can utilise English both as a door to international commerce, tourism, technology, and science, and also as an ideological instrument to challenge inequality and produce counter-discourses. The East Timorese students clearly wanted access to the perceived benefits and advantages of the English speaking world, however illusory these may be (see Kandiah 1984 in Canagarajah 1993), a world that had been brought to their doorstep with the influx of international agencies working to construct the nation's new political, civil and economic infrastructure. At the same time, they also were determined to construct an alternative reality and an identity of their own by appropriating the language of the international community, thus creating the 'centre' in the 'periphery'.

As Pennycook notes, 'the potential meanings that can be articulated in English are interlinked with the discourses of development, democracy capitalism, modernisation, and so on' (1995:53), and so the spread of English reproduces and also produces the inequalities implicated in those discourses. By abrogation of correct usage and appropriation to specific cultural locations (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1989), the classroom becomes a site for engagement 'in the struggle to oppose the centre's claim to control over meaning and to create new meanings in opposition to the hegemonising character of Western discourses and English' (Pennycook 1995:53). The consequent formation of counter-discourses has often become the focus for language use in programs which aim for empowerment and, in postcolonial contexts, the development of new national, community and individual identities.

So what does this tell us about the role of English in development? While development agencies may envisage 'language development' as a simple transfer of skills to enhance language proficiency and economic mobility in isolation from surrounding political events and circumstances, the teaching of English as a foreign language in development programs is inevitably part of the political life of a nation (McKay 2001). Teachers carry the discourses of English language teaching, globalisation and development into the classroom, but the students may carry discourses that present an entirely different worldview. Certainly in a context as complex and tumultuous as East Timor, it was, of course, impossible to prevent the discourses of war, international intervention and politics from invading the classroom. It is in the space created for the expression of all these different discourses that new discourses can be constructed for unique situations and new identities.

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3 Partnerships in initial teacher education

Bao Kham & Phan Thi Bich Ngoc

Over the 1990s initial teacher education worldwide has been under strong pressure from changes in the social and educational contexts, which have brought about dramatic transformations in the curriculum.

In the Australian setting, the social and educational changes which are distinctive and profound can be characterised by:

The diversity of

- students' backgrounds, needs and experience;
- teacher roles and school types and contexts and the increase in responsibility for students' welfare;
- roles in assessment, evaluation and accountability to community and participation with community members;
- privatised schooling;
- the emphasis on VET and preparation for lifelong learning
- the politicisation of schooling and demands of more intense, complex, and demanding policy/curriculum and legal framework, as well as the influence of information technology, and administrative systems;
- developing social polarisation. (Response of Faculty of Education University of Sydney to Teacher Education Review — Issues 2000)

These obvious changes have naturally highlighted the increasing complexity and diversity of teachers' work which training institutions alone cannot cope with without the co-operation of stakeholders. For these reasons, the document asserts the needs for:

> Greater co-operation and partnerships between training institutions, schools and employing authorities; renewing teacher education through partnerships with those within the profession as well as drawing experience from other professions; as well as inter-disciplinary studies and co-operation within universities to emphasise the central role of universities in preparing students to become the next generation of teacher. (p.1)

The need for school-university partnerships is not only driven by these changes, but also by the public's and educators' strong attack on initial teacher education. Teacher education programs, which are mainly based at universities, have been strongly criticised as being isolated from school practice. In reviewing the Queensland school curriculum, Wiltshire, quoted in Sealey, Robson & Hutchins (1997:79–80) points out the gap between theory and practice in initial teacher education:

> One of the major difficulties is that the theoretical knowledge in teacher education programs is encountered independent of its situation of use, and, as a consequence, contributes to the ever-increasing gulf between theoretical knowledge (knowing 'that') and procedural knowledge (knowing 'how').

Australian higher education institutions have also been criticised by the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training as being 'out of touch with contemporary school practice' (Chadbourne 1996, quoted in Bullough & Kauchak 1997).

Together with the changes in educational context, these criticisms have urged training institutions to reconceptualise teacher training, and to actively form collaborative partnerships with schools, not only in pre-service but also in-service teacher education.

Stressing the importance of a university-school linkage in initial teacher education, a submission from a university asserts its inevitability: 'Just as schools needs to relate closely to their communities so teacher education faculties need to relate closely to schools and to the profession.' (Quoted in *Issues of Significance Canvassed in Submissions to the New South Wales Review of Teacher Education 2000.*)

A school-university linkage has, therefore, become an urgent need to improve the professionalism of the teachers for the next generation, as asserted in the Report from Symposium — Repositioning Teacher Education (2000:8–9):

> In many respects, the development of partnerships with the resources to support them, in which both teachers and academics and others (e.g. professional associations; employers) could contribute collaboratively their knowledge and expertise to the development of successful young teachers, was seen as one of the most important necessary changes.

Similar changes have also occurred in the United Kingdom setting. Teacher training since the 1970s has undergone strong criticisms from both educators and the government about the control, location and content of initial teacher training. Williams (1994:1–2) points out:

> The accusation is that control, content and location of teacher-training are all wrong. Content is perceived to be over theoretical ... The location is perceived to be biased heavily in favor of the training institution, rather than the school, which is viewed as the most appropriate location for the training of the prospective teacher. Control is seen to be vested far too heavily in the training institutions ...

The implication of the mentioned evaluation of the changing contexts in England and Wales is that the improvement in initial teacher education must spring from the renovation both in the curriculum and the formation and strengthening of a linkage between higher education institutions and schools. In contrast to Australia, where the responsibility for teacher training remains with universities, in the UK, the move towards university-school partnerships has resulted from governmental action and intervention. The drive for partnerships has been attributed to many important governmental circulars. For example, Circular 3/84 that recognises the need for more school-based training suggests closer HEI-school partnerships. Circulars 9/92 and 14/93 stipulates that schools should act as full partners of higher education institutions in the designing, planning, training, selection and assessment of trainee teachers (Foreman-Peck 1997). Hence, the characteristic feature of partnerships in initial teacher education in the UK, as Pimm and Selinger's claim, is that 'the authority and power for teacher education is moving rapidly from higher education to schools as a result of central government mandate' (1995:47).

In the United States setting, changes happen in a similar way, and the public's criticisms are fundamentally the same. In recent years, the American public has raised an intense concern about the duality of the elementary and secondary schools, as well as that of teacher training programs. Whereas the public schools have been criticised for the poor quality of their education program, teacher-training programs have been criticised for lack of quality and depth. Bartel and Young (1993) cited Roth (1992) to emphasise the focus of the public's criticism of teacher education programs upon 'ill conceived and poorly taught education courses, the worst students, the least amount of funding, highly theoretical lectures from faculty in university ivory towers, and not enough time in schools to gain practical experience'. These problems need to be resolved without delay if the enhancement of teaching and learning qualities becomes the first priority. As shown by Digby, Gartin and Murdick (1993), the solution to the chronic problems must be co-operation with public schools in teacher training:

> As a result of these criticisms, teacher preparation programs have been searching for new ways to provide relevant experiences that integrate educational theory and practice. One method that has been suggested as effective in the training of teachers is the collaboration of teacher education institutions and public schools (p.37)

Obviously the old model of teacher education cannot respond effectively to the needs of a fast changing society. The most severe problem of the old model is the failure to introduce a satisfactory solution to establish 'coherent and viable conceptions of how students work in these contexts [higher education contexts] should be related to their work in schools, on 'teaching practice' and when they began their work as professional teachers' (McIntyre 1997:5). Considered as a response to the public's criticism and to social and educational changes, partnerships have now emerged as a satisfactory solution to the improvement of the quality of initial teacher education based on the appropriate relationship between schools and universities in ITE, and have gained support from educators and governmental agencies.

Driven by various forces resulting from the pressures of the changing contexts, the movement toward training institution-school partnerships for initial teacher education has increased dramatically in recent years. The movement has not been restricted to one country or one region, but has spread worldwide, particularly in the

United Kingdom (Whiny, Barrett, Barton, Furlong, Galvin, Miles 1992, Everton, White 1992, the University of Nottingham, Williams 1994, Inman, Mahony, Sidgewich, Stiasny 1994, Wyn 1994, Foreman-Peck 1997, Abrahams 1997, Arnold & Bloomfield 1997, Goble 1997), in the United States (Russ 1993,Cavanaugh 1993, Bartel, Young 1993, Digby, Gartin, Murdick 1993, Ward 1997, Bullough & Kauchak 1997, Williams, n.d., Welch 1998, Sandholtz, Finan 1998), in Australia (Sealey, Robson, Hutchins 1997, Ewing & Smith 1999, Faculty of Education 2000), and in the Nertherlands (Koetsier, Wubbels, Korthagen 1994, Koster 1996).

This paper attempts to explore the concept of partnership, both in theory and in practice, in the present changing context of initial teacher education. Through this exploration, the paper aims to clarify the main characteristics of the concept, its scope and its theoretical foundations. We also examine the administrative structure of a partnership, its barriers and the principles and strategies needed to establish a school-university coalition, as well as how these actually work in particular contexts. On the basis of the study of the theoretical and practical aspects of the concept, as well as of established models in reality, this paper attempts to examine the present situation of school university linkage in Vietnam, and to consider the possibility of its application within the context.

Partnership — definition and scope

The notion of partnership is not completely new. For the purpose of solving the crucial problem that the old model of ITE failed to accomplish in terms of how work in the higher education context and school context can be effectively inter-related, partnerships have emerged since the 1970s. At the beginning of the decade, a classroom curriculum-developing project that involved the collaboration between student teachers, classroom teachers and university teachers was initiated by the Initial Teacher Education/ In-service Education for Teachers Program in the UK. Then following the Educational Reform Bill in 1987, a movement towards school-based initial teacher education emerged, changing the face of initial teacher education. This also resulted in the re-evaluation of' the university-school relationship that leads naturally to the encouragement of the formation of partnerships which have culminated worldwide (Sealey, Robson & Hutchins 1997).

The concept of partnership differs greatly from the concept of integration. As Furlong. Whitty, Whiting, Miles, Barton and Barrett (1996) explicate, the concept of integration prevails in the higher education institution (hereafter HEI)-based ITE, where university tutors take full responsibility for presenting student teachers with practically adopted pedagogies, planning and supervising their teaching practice, setting and marking their assignments, and assessing their teaching competencies. In this model, classroom teachers have a very limited role as advisors in the assessment of the student teachers.

The concept of partnership should not be confused with the concept of School-

Centered Initial Teacher Training (SCITT). SCITT is a model in which teacher-training institutions have no formal responsibility, although they can be involved in a link on an ad hoc basis. Instead, the SCITT consortium takes full charge of planning, managing the training courses, supervising, mentoring and assessing trainees in accordance with the standards approved by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA). The scheme itself can, however, be characterised as a partnership because, as Furlong et al. (1996:45) claim, 'partnership necessarily, as we would suggest, involves some degree of joint responsibility for course provision'.

The concept of partnership should not be equated with the concept of 'school-based teacher education', although there are many overlapping areas between these terms. A program that is seen as school-based teacher education meets, to varying degrees, the following five criteria:

a) The program is physically located in a certain school.

b) The implementation of the program is simultaneous with other course components.

c) Its activities are closely related to work in the education course.

d) There is collaboration between the school and HEI staff in terms of the planning, organisation, implementation, supervision and evaluation of the theoretical and practical aspects of the program.

e) There is a triad co-operation (school and HEI staff and students) in teaching, research and curriculum development to enhance the quality of teaching. (Turney & Thew 1975, summarised in Smith 1978)

As can be seen from the characteristics, collaboration in school-based teacher education may be identical with the concept of joint responsibility or joint venture. However, the concept of collaboration or partnership is not as straightforward or easy to understand as we expect according to common sense, because misunderstandings still exist. In the article 'Collaboration: staying on the bandwagon' (1998), Welch cited Barth (1990) to warn us of the usual confusion of collaboration with 'collegiality and congeniality'. Welch also quoted Pulgach and Johnson (1995) to distinguish collaboration from advice giving, and Shendan (1992) to differentiate the concept from a concrete technique such as team teaching or collaborative consultation. Actually, the concept of collaboration is very complex. Welch cited West (1990) for the definition of collaboration as 'an interactive planning or problem-solving process involving two or more members'. West claims that the process is implemented on the basis of such factors as mutual respect, trust, open communication, shared decision-making, sharing personal resources and expertise, and joint ownership of the issue in consideration. Welch also quoted Wood and Gray (1991) who defined collaboration as an 'interactive process, using shared rules, norms, and structures, to act or decide on issues related to that domain' [a problem domain]. Based on these overlapping areas that emerge from the definitions, such as sharing, interdependence, interaction, Welch and Sheridan (1995 cited in Welch 1998:27) proposed a reconciled but comprehensive definition. Collaboration can be defined as 'a dynamic framework for efforts which endorses interdependence and parity during interactive exchange of resources between at least two partners who work together in a decision making process that is influenced by cultural and systemic factors to achieve common goals.'

Welch analyses the important features, either explicit or implicit in the definition. These include interactive exchanges of resources, decision making, problem solving, conflict management, interpersonal communication, cultural influences, and systemic influences. The analysis can be summarised as follows:

Interactive exchange of resources includes the sharing of tangibles such as materials, personnel and funding, and intangibles such as risk, control and ideas in several resource domains: human, information and technology, physical and financial.

Decision making is a procedure consisting of a series of actions structured in a series of steps towards an agreed goal to solve a problem or determine an issue. Decision-making is a form of sharing leadership either at the macrolevel of school policy or at the microlevel of interactions between teachers. This process is often faced with difficulties due to cultural and systemic barriers.

Problem solving is a five-stage process, including problem recognition, production of alternative solutions, decision making, implementation of the solution, and evaluation of outcomes. It is considered a common form of decision making.

Conflict management is inevitable because conflicts happen as a consequence of personal perceptions of others' interference with his or her goal achievement. Conflict management is a skill for all partners to be trained to acquire.

Interpersonal communication skills, which ensure effective interactions between partners, are very important. Among them are effective and active listening techniques, nonverbal communication, providing and requesting feedback.

Cultural differences are also inevitable because each has its own culture. Each culture has its own patterns of thinking and expectations, its own set of values and attitudes, its own ways of determining roles of its members, and its own patterns of behaviours. Therefore, potential conflict is unavoidable because of cultural interference. This issue will be discussed further later in 'Partnership — barriers to be considered'.

Systemic influences include macro-systemic impacts from outside the school, including pressures from state and district regulations, union contracts, and state and federal laws that may affect the way partners work together to achieve goals. They also include micro-systemic influences, such as the bureaucratic structure of the school (school schedules, physical layout, etc.) that may cause a distance between partners.

All these features blend to constitute the comprehensive concept of collaboration or partnership, and must be taken into account when a partnership needs to be built up. Collaboration or partnership is not a form of teacher education, but the concept exists in all forms of teacher education to ensure a successful coalition between school and HEIs. Partnership is the fundamental concept in school-based teacher education, in practicum, internships. It can also be existent in SCITT and makes SCITT become a genuine partnership, either in a close or loose manner.

Partnership — the models continuum

On the basis of the results of the Modes of Teacher Education Project, Furlong et al. (1996) has formulated the changing patterns of HEI-school relationships since 1992.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="5">HEI ◄————————————————► School</td></tr>
<tr><td>HEI-based</td><td colspan="3">Partnership continuum</td><td rowspan="2">SCITT</td></tr>
<tr><td>Schemes</td><td>HEI-led</td><td>Collaborative</td><td>Separatist</td></tr>
</table>

Changing Patterns of HEI-school Relationships (Adapted from Furlong 1996)

Furlong and his colleagues suggest the three emerging models that are considered ideal and typical because in reality a certain program is often a combination of more than one aspect from each model in the individual areas of a program or for certain groups of trainees. The three models in the middle range between two extremes. At one end, HEI — based schemes represent the traditional models of integration while, at the other end, SCITT represents a training model of complete isolation from higher education. These models are considered to be on a continuum on which the degree of joint responsibility changes from HEI-led partnership to separatist partnership.

Collaborative partnership is the model in which trainees can gain access to different forms of educational and professional knowledge from different resources, schools or HEIs, or elsewhere, hence, their knowledge can be complemented and they also have a chance to critique what they learn either in schools or in HEIs (McIntyre 1991, cited in Furlong et al. 1996). As the term suggests, collaboration is a crucial feature that those involved must be committed to. On the basis of ongoing collaboration, teachers and tutors can have opportunities to work together in planning the program. Through ongoing dialogues, tutors and teachers can discuss professional knowledge, recognise the differences of their contribution, and have tolerant attitudes toward the differences while selecting the content. Assessment is also collaborative, based on triangulation. Students work collaboratively and individually with their mentors, who facilitate their access to professional knowledge through professional development.

HEI-led partnership differs from collaborative partnership in the fact that teachers from schools are involved in this venture only as consultants. The goal, as claimed by Furlong et al. (1996) is 'to utilise schools as a resource in setting up learning opportunities for students' (p. 45). Thus schools are required by this model to provide learning opportunities for all students, and the course leader must guarantee the quality of this provision. The element of collaboration is minimal because HEIs plan the whole program with the aid of some consultation from schoolteachers. For example, HEIs define tasks for schools, select the content for students, and take responsibility for students' assessment. HEIs even train teachers as tutors for the purpose of performing the predetermined tasks. It is apparent that schools involved in this model are in a position to accept the principles predetermined by HEIs. The reasons for this may be that local schools fail to take greater responsibility for training, or that HEIs have a strong commitment to the educational theory within ITE.

Separatist partnership is different from the first two in the fact that those involved in this model, have 'separate and complementary responsibilities' (Furlong et al. 1996). If, in the collaborative model, both integration and partnership is incorporated in a balanced manner, and in the HEI-led model, integration prevails over partnership, then in this model no integration is involved. The distinctive feature for this model is the division of labour between those involved. Thus HEIs and schools have to agree on broad areas of responsibilities in the course planning. The content is also divided in terms of separate knowledge domains. Mentoring and teaching assessment are mainly school-based. The reasons for the existence of this model are that schools are allowed or willing to have their own areas of responsibility, or that there are financial constraints.

The results of the analysis of the data from the project conducted by Furlong et al. (1996) show that, in practice, the separated and collaborative models appear in only a few courses. Thus the most common is the HEI-led model. In spite of this, HEIs' impact is on school-based training is minimal, in that, the impact is realised only through documentation, mentor training, and quality control procedures.

According to Furlong et al. (1996), the development and formation of a particular model depends largely upon a wide range of demands, of which the prominent are the financial, the school market and other institutional requirements, such as the need for adaptation to modulisation and semesterisation. For example, the financial pressures might force the HEIs to reduce the number of the staff involved, which leads naturally to increased responsibilities for those actually involved. This might result in the consideration of the choice of the separatist model instead of the HEI-led, because it seems cheaper in terms of financial cost.

The school market is a significant factor the course leader must consider when deciding which model to develop. By 'school market' we mean that the choice of an appropriate school can ensure the development of a required model. For instance, the collaborative model requires the active and responsible participation of partner schools in training, which not every school can undertake for fear of overwork on the part of the school staff involved. For this reason, course leaders are in a stronger position to develop the HEI-led model instead. However, if the two factors — the school market and financial pressures — combine to create pressures, the HEI-led model would become the separatist model, which requires only contributions from each side, with no integration at all.

Another factor which affects the choice of a certain model is the requirement that the desired model must fit into the modular and semesterised systems in HEIs. This makes it impossible to implement the collaborative model, because schools must be fitted into the tertiary system in operation.

In short, the existence of the three models does not mean freedom in achieving joint responsibility between partners. Many restraints must be taken into account with regard to the choice of a partnership model, so that partners can work effectively and efficiently on the basis of genuine collaboration.

Partnership — administrative structure

In general, it is impossible to formulate a general and common administrative structure for all kinds of partnership. It is the model undertaken, or the purpose a particular partnership pursues, that determines the overall administrative framework. However, the key personnel are basically the same. For example, for the purpose of training teachers, as in the case of the PGCE partnership of the University of Nottingham, the key personnel include a school coordinator who acts as organiser and coordinator for student teachers in the school, a mentor who is responsible for one or more student teacher(s) in a particular subject area in the school, a class teacher who supports a student teacher and liaises with the mentor, and a method tutor from the HEI faculty who provides a framework of students' work, and necessary theory concerning the teaching methodology on the subject, as well as liaising with the mentor and collaboratively supervising the students.

A very important position which ensures the effectiveness of the partnership is the liaison or boundary spanner, who acts as a link between the school and HEIs. As Clark (1999, cited in Williams n.d.) shows, '[b]oundary spanners or intermediate engineers are necessary to facilitate communication across the cultures of different participants.' A liaison is supposed to be responsible for such work as coordination, facilitation and assistance in actual activities based at the school site, and for informing the university members of events. Liaison positions help people move freely between the two educational cultures (Williams 1996, Sandholtz and Finan 1998). Sandholtz and Finan (1998) identify five main characteristics of a boundary spanner: a strong allegiance to the partnership, acceptance of unpredictable time demands, focus on extrinsic rewards, emphasis on relationships, and a view of the long term.

However, because partnership is a joint venture, there must be a joint committee who is responsible for the whole business of the partnership. Such a committee has different names. For example, in the case of the PGCE partnership of the University of Nottingham, the committee is called the Partnership Committee. However, in the case of the Sydney University Faculty of Education–North Sydney Demonstration School partnership, such a committee has a different name: Advisory Committee or ADCOM. Nevertheless, whatever name it may have, the function is basically the same. 'This committee oversees the management, coordination, evaluation and work of the partnership' (the University of Nottingham School of Education, n.d.:17).

Partnership — theoretical foundations

What is the nature of partnership? To answer the basic question, we need to have a closer look at the concept from two different perspectives: market principle, as well as organisational and sociological.

First, let's examine the theoretical basis proposed by Rosie and Fuller (1997). They have developed a conceptual model for school-based teacher education on the basis of Habermas's theory and the practice of school-based teacher training in the UK, which is regulated on the basis of the market principle.

Rosie and Fuller base their model on Harbermas's basic concepts of 'social differentiation'. As Rosie and Fuller (1977) explain, social activity is divided into four main sectors: economic, political, public and private. All sectors are interdependent on each other according to what each sector produces. Money from the economic relies upon the political for power, upon the public for influence, and upon the private for committed labour force. Based on their characteristic functions, the political and the economic belong to the systemic because 'the economy and the state both contribute to the production and reproduction of the capitalist system through capital accumulation (the medium of money) and through contractual means to maintain such accumulation (the medium of power)' (p.7). Similarly, the public and the private belong to the 'lifeworld' because they are considered as 'a phenomenological reality which acts in the transmission and reproduction of knowledge' (p.7).

The relationship between these sectors is strongly affected by a process called rationalisation. As Rosie and Fuller (1997:8) point out, the process involves two distinct but complementary concepts, specialisation and normalisation:

> Rationalisation leads to growing selectivity and dominance. Economic rationalisation has involved specialisation and normalisation. The specialisation process has involved the development of special markets and also particular roles for individual groups. Normalisation, often achieved through bureaucratic means, is shown in the prominence of contracts and other means of codifying and controlling relations between parties.

It is the rationalisation process that leads to the expansion of the sector and its influences on other sectors as well.

Another process that affects the relationship between these sectors is called colonialisation. As a result of the expansion of the economic sector, it becomes dominant, and, through the interchange between these sectors, the economic sustains its dominance right in the lifeworld, making the lifeworld itself rework and redevelop.

On the basis of Habermas's mentioned concepts, Rosie and Fuller analyse and formulate the conceptual model for school-based teacher-education. According to the social market approach, there is a quasi-market form in the social market model of professional development (Le Grand & Bartlett 1993 cited in Rosie and Fuller 1997). A division of roles between stakeholders characterises this quasi market model. These include the split between purchaser and provider, the presence of non-profit organisations and the representation of individuals by agents. In the context of teacher education as a market, schools are both purchasers and providers of training opportunities. Purchasing can be negotiations between the school and the funding agents, HEIs can also be purchasers. Both HEIs and schools are non-profit organisations, and both have the role of agents; HEIs may represent students in terms of school placements and schools may represent student in terms of the improvement of the course. In the case of partnerships, schools become the managers of training contracts and take responsibility for pupil learning and potential. This is quite different from the old model of integration where the school has very low agency in contrast to the high agency held by HEIs. In short, the division is a characteristic of the economic sector.

The political sector in the case of teacher education provides a broad framework for education, which is validated in the public sector, and is closely related to the economic and the private sectors. For example, in the educational context in the UK, the role of the political sector is exercised through the issuing of a national curriculum and competence-based assessment, which is employed for the measurement of action taken in the public sector.

The public sector in the ITE context consists of the school where the judgements based on the competence-based assessment is made about whether an appropriate competence is acquired by student teachers.

In the private sector, various forms of commitment circulate, of which the highest form is active self-advancement. That is, in the lifeworld, which is different from the systems, the consumption of cultural objects is not based on the needs or satisfaction, but on symbolic values — what is termed by Rose (1981 cited in Rosie and Fuller 1997) 'social presentation and signification'. In the ITE, through the competence statements established by the educational authority, trainee teachers can check on their own self-advancement to measure their improvement, or the school can assess them.

These different sectors in the initial teacher education market are interconnected. The political connects to the private through the notion of self-advancement, and to the public through the competence statement and the national curriculum. The economic connects to the private through the political and the public.

The expansion or reduction of a sector leads to an impact on other sectors, and also on the nature of a partnership. For example, when the economic sector is reduced in scope, and the public sector, where judgements about whether a student acquires a competence are made, is expanded, the professional role will increase. However, if the economic sector is expanded, then the public is reduced in some way, affecting the processional role negatively. This is because contractual responsibilities in practice are not fulfilled, and the purchaser-provider split usually results in the overloaded duties on the part of those involved. These put restraints on the partnership, which is detrimental to the improvement of professional preparation in student teachers.

In summary, the nature of a partnership is determined by the interrelationship between sectors in it. An authentic partnership will lead to the reworking of a general model where the economic and the private are always expanded, while the political and the public are always reduced in scope. However, the enlarged economic sector often induces tensions that threaten partnerships. In general, all the interconnections between the sectors and the impact of each sector must be carefully considered while a model is established so that an appropriate way of mediation can be set out with a view to solving solutions.

From organisational and sociological perspectives, Welch (1998) cited Phillips and McCullough (1990) to describe the nature of a partnership through the notion of a 'collaborative ethic'. A partnership exists whenever all partners involved share the same values and the same goals concerning enhanced responsibility for the education of all students. A partnership exists provided that all partners involved believe in the benefits of the exchange of resources, and value the devotion of time, energy and resources to facilitate and enhance collaborative interactions. In addition, a partnership exists provided that all factors related to each partner are viewed as equally important and desirable, such as staff morale and cohesion, knowledge and skills in decision making, and implementing instructional strategies. And finally, a partnership exists as long as there is a need to structure and organise collaborative efforts through collaborative planning (including situational analysis, generation of solutions, design, implementation, evaluation, modification, refection). All these conditions create sound foundations which ensure a stable collaborative coalition.

Partnership — principles and strategies

A survey released in 1997 by the working party on partnerships in teacher education of the Queensland Board of Teacher Registration has formulated the six key elements necessary for the establishment of balanced and effective partnerships, as well as their related strategies for sustaining of key elements of a successful partnership. These key factors highlight the importance of the components that constitute the concept of collaboration in the previous part. The identified elements include collaboration, commitment, effective ongoing planning, management and evaluation, effective communication, recognition of shared educational goals, and continuing active participation. The characteristics of the elements are summarised as follows:

Collaboration is the most significant and indispensable element that can create a successful and sustainable partnership because a partnership is, in nature, a joint venture. The first identified manifestation of genuine collaboration is*equivalence*, in terms of involvement in shared learning experiences, contribution and benefits. The second is *sharing* in terms of contributions, decision making, responsibilities, management and leadership. The third feature is *positive attitudes* of partners involved, including openness, mutual trust and respect for differing expertise and responsibilities or duties. And the final feature of true collaboration is *mutual support* in terms of contribution and expertise.

Identified strategies for the development of this element include organising social contacts for mutual understanding and recognising expectations, providing opportunities for representatives to undertake shared responsibility and expertise. Giving specific, pragmatic and concentrated instruction for the purpose of the efficient implementation of responsibilities, and making explicit the value of partners' contributions are also necessary strategies.

Commitment can be developed whenever partners realise that the partnership they participate in is relevant to their work and beneficial to their needs. Commitment can be identified through support in the form of financial, material, and human and time resources devoted to the partnership as well as recognition and status.

Recognised strategies for the shaping and sustaining of the partnership involve identifying suitable and relevant issues and desired outcomes, and determining partners' expectations and support. Discussing the extent of the contribution of all partners and making it known in a form of an agreement is also an important strategy.

Effective ongoing planning, management and evaluation are a manifestation of the cyclic approach to partnership. Ongoing planning and management involve all parties in the timely detection of possible problems arising during the process, in the redefinition, revisiting and refining of the foundation provided by early planning, including partnership roles, responsibilities, goals, the timeline, and the measurement of intended outcomes. These tasks require all partners involved develop their awareness of the ethical and confidential issues. To facilitate this, a formal written agreement is needed where intended goals, outcomes, roles and responsibilities, partners' contributions and form of support are made explicit to all partners.

Identified strategies necessary for the planning, management and strategies include forming a planning committee with contact persons appointed, setting up an organisational framework for systematic planning, and determining a proper timeline. The strategies also involve implementing a needs assessment, identifying the various roles and responsibilities of all partners, facilitating the process of constant reviewing of' goals, responsibilities and progress, as well as developing an evaluation process that can facilitate changes as the project progresses, and measure the extent of partnership success.

Effective communication, which keeps partners both involved and informed, is characterised by such features as regularity, openness and honesty, explicitness, evaluativeness, and accessibility. Genuine communication must involve exchanging successes and failures, understanding each other's pressures, and actively consulting, with all information shared equally, thoroughly and publicly. It also involves a willingness to adjust to each partner's context and to advocate.

Identified strategies for the promotion of effective communication include activating communication through small group processes, problem solving and teambuilding, establishing a process that can facilitate partners in the accumulation of information, in the reviewing process, resolving conflicts and making changes. Strategies must also encourage incorporation of a variety of channels e.g. letters, minutes of meetings, etc.

Recognition of shared educational goals is as important for the success of a partnership as strong commitment to it. The established goals must be collaboratively agreed and reflect the interests of each party. A process of reaching consensus on agreed goals is characterised by re-thinking practice, experimenting, learning from each other, expanding knowledge base, and seeking new and better ways of development.

Necessary strategies of promoting recognition of shared educational goals include understanding partners' backgrounds and systems, discussing expectations and restraints related to established goals, encouraging procedures for collaborative research and mutual inquiry, as well as sharing exemplary practice and procedures, and expanding knowledge base.

Continuing active participation, which ensures the process of ongoing renewal, leadership and management, can be achieved through constant overseeing communication, coordination and administrative issues. The requirements for all partners are not limited to constant participation in every stage of the partnership. Partners are facilitated to develop a sense of ownership. Their strengths are valued and explored and their differences are respected.

Strategies needed for guaranteeing continuing active participation include training skills for working with partners form different backgrounds, and letting partners have a variety of responsibilities, as well as supplying them with frequent review, feedback and sharing. Letting partners know that their different contributions are valued is also a necessary strategy.

The report of the Board of Teacher Registration shows that not all elements must exist in a partnership. They are all important, but their existence must depend on the demand of the partnership and the context in which the partnership operates. As the document asserts,

> All elements are essential and interlocking when building a partnership; the partners need to determine their priorities and sequence according to their needs and the context in which they work. (p.8)

The results of the survey (1996) conducted on 22 out of 25 established partnerships, by the working party on partnerships in teacher education, reveal the degree of importance of each of the mentioned elements. For example, collaboration is recognised as the key element in 16 out of 22 partnerships investigated. Commitment and recognition of shared goals are considered as contributing to the success of 11 out of the 22 surveyed partnerships. Effective ongoing planning, management and evaluation, as well as active ongoing participation, are viewed as crucial factors in 7 to 8 of the investigated partnerships.

These essential elements are viewed by the report as components that ensure the success of a partnership, and can be considered as the major principles for the building of any partnership.

Partnership — barriers to be considered

The barriers to partnerships can be examined at two different levels: general and specific.

At a general level, barriers to partnership can be grouped into four categories: conceptual, pragmatic, attitudinal, and professional (Phillips and McCulough 1990 cited in Welch 1998). These can be explained as follows:

Conceptual barriers are partners' perception of their roles and those of others which are shaped and reinforced by the culture where they grow and work. For example, teachers do not know the role of parents in educating disabled students because they think that is the responsibility of special educators.

Pragmatic barriers include systemic and logistic factors, such as lack of time, scheduling problems, overloaded work, competing, and bureaucratic structures' influences. In the case of the systemic factors, the structures of the school must be modified in a way that it can facilitate the collaborative interaction. What's more, cultural barriers can be a hindrance to collaboration, which is difficult to remove.

Attitudinal barriers include unrealistic expectations or beliefs shaped by the school or university cultures. For example, the belief may be that change will not involve any stress or effort, or that the sustained old way of doing things may help in every situation, and there is no need for a change in behaviour.

Professional barriers include lack of training and differences in training across various disciplines that result in the restrained knowledge and experience in problem solving. Other barriers such as lack of skills of communication and conflict management, as well as philosophical differences and different degrees of knowledge and skills, can prevent partners from full participation in establishing partnerships.

These generic barriers can be implicit in the emerging problems at specific levels. From a concrete angle, the Board of Teacher Registration report presents problems or challenges that can be a threat to a successful partnership. The problems can be summarised as follows:

1. *Unclearly defined goals:* the manifestations of this problem are partners being confused about the major goals and being unable to understand details. Besides, partners may fail to know what can be practically achieved or they may face unresolved demand-expectation conflicts.

2. *Improper planning*: this is characterised by lack of fully developed proposals or defined implementation strategies.

3. *Lack of timely and full, communication:* this may be caused by partners' lack of attention to planning effective communication or by misunderstanding, overloaded work, etc. Other causes may be insufficient and inappropriate documentation.

4. *Negative attitudes* that result from clashes of partners' interests, apathy, and cynicism. Other causes include reduced enthusiasm, motivation and energy, or changed organisational or political demands.

5. *Insufficient resources*: this may be due to unrealistic requirements established or scarce resources. Other reasons may be a mismatch between budget and planning, or underestimated human resources.

6. *Poor knowledge of implementation processes* due to a lack of experience or the tendency to underestimate or overestimate time, commitment and resources.

7. *Organisational distances* between belief and practice, or individual expecta tions and partnership policy, or individual and bureaucratic priorities.

8. *Relationship difficulties,* such as relocated or transferred key individuals, different levels of satisfaction, energy, commitment, conflicts between personal and professional agenda, and among individual agenda.

9. *Criticism from partners* because of a lack of sufficient information, misunder standing, different philosophies, values or priorities.

The survey by the working party of the Queensland Board of Teacher Education listed two emerging problems during the implementation of 22 partnerships investigated in 1996, that since have been overcome. They include ineffective communication and relationship difficulties. However, no detailed description is made of' these problems.

The presence or absence of the mentioned elements can affect the model in use. For instance, insufficient resources and lack of commitment and continuous participation can create a favourable condition for the separatist model to dominate. As Bullough & Kauchak (1997:231) point out,

> School and higher education institutions are both very busy places. Unless sufficient resources can be freed to provide opportunities to support the extended conversation needed to create a shared agenda and unless there is a greater commitment to stabilising participation. separatist partnership patterns will not persist but predominate.

Other problems facing partnerships in practice are also mentioned in the literature. One of the prominent and sensitive problems is cultural distinction, which is discussed in 'Partnership — definitions and scope'. Distrust, misunderstandings, relationship and communication difficulties are not always attributed to individual differences. The cause of these problems, and many others mentioned above, may be deeply rooted in the differences between the two types of institutions, school and HEIs. Ward (1997) suggests a list of 16 opposing cultural aspects between HEIs and primary school. As Ward remarks, these are not always clearly identifiable. They are sometimes implicit and therefore very sensitive. These characteristics hinder the frankness of those partners involved in the process of dialogue. To overcome this cultural conflict, Ward also proposes a solution, which is based on the encouragement of creating a sincere emotional climate for all concerned parties, including frankness, commitment, sympathy, and understanding. Ward (1997:17) places emphasis upon the following points:

1. a frank dialogue with HEI staff;
2. a sympathetic understanding of students' requirement;
3. a commitment to ITT and have policies for all staff to follow.
4. teachers to be supportively critical and analytical of students' practice;
5. allow critical analysis and discussion of their own practice; to share their uncertainties about their practice with students;
6. a commitment to staff development, of which ITT is a part;
7. commitment of staff time to students;
8. an understanding of students' curriculum planning needs.

Partnerships in practice — an examination of the established models

In this sector, three models of partnership implemented in reality are chosen from different educational and social contexts. These include:
Two models from the Australian context:

- Sydney University Faculty of Education–Curl Curl North Primary School partnership;
- Sydney University Faculty of Education–North Sydney Demonstration School partnership.

One model from the United Kingdom context:

- Cheltenham & Gloucester College of Higher Education–Gloucestershire Association of Secondary Headteachers partnership.

These models are examined within the framework of an overview, key factors as well as emerging problems. The overview describes the general features of the partnership in terms of content, time, administrative structure, and partners involved. The key factors summarise elements that contribute to the success of the partnerships. And the problems examine the barriers that hinder or limit the development of the partnership.

1. Sydney University Faculty of Education–Curl Curl North Sydney partnership

Overview

Since 1995 a two-strand partnership between the University of Sydney and Curl Curl North Primary School has been established. The two strands involve the improvement of student literacy outcomes and the development of professional learning for drama undergraduates, as well as for experienced teachers at the school. The professional development strand aims to assist student teachers in sharing expertise with school teachers and in drawing direct experience from applying drama and literature as a teaching and learning tool to the practical classroom context (since 1996). It also aims to help schoolteachers to share professional development. To facilitate the implementation of the partnership, mentoring has been included.

For practice teaching, B.Ed primary students are placed in school classes for applying drama strategies and methods in English/literacy and other KLAs to a 40-minute lesson. And as part of the professional development, students and teachers attend seminars whose purpose is to 'refine their expertise' (Ewing & Smith 1999:3).

Key factors

Ewing and Smith (1999) cited Nias for the most important factors for the success of the partnership. These factors include communication, leadership, curriculum initiative, professional learning and enthusiasm. The factors such as communication, leadership and enthusiasm demonstrate the importance of strictly following the principles and strategies discussed in 'Partnership — principles and strategies'.

According to the results of the teacher interviews at the end of 1998, other key factors contributing to the success of this partnership include release time for teachers to plan, discuss and evaluate teaching and learning strategies, experience sharing, and the credibility of the mentor. They also include the professional and personal relationships of those involved, the practical nature of the drama and literature course, and the durability of the project.

The most significant contribution this partnership has made to the theory of partnership is the formation of the environment of the 'professional learning culture'. The distinguishing features of such a culture include respect for differences in all stakeholders' opinions, the collaborative attitudes for professional advancement, and teaching-related professional inquiry. As Ewing and Smith (1999:5) comment:

'The timing of the innovation was appropriate: the principal and teachers had built up a climate of professional inquiry about effective teaching. All stakeholders' were aware that they had a right for their voices to be heard in the school community. Teachers were prepared to work together to go forward. There was a symbiosis of philosophy, commitment and funding.'

This partnership is a vivid example of the theoretical partnership described with the assertion of the principled elements and strategies.

Problems

The two major problems that are mentioned in the report by Ewing and Smith (1999) are time restraints and sustaining funding. Time is very important for the people concerned to see the result of the project until the end. Besides, funding is also an equally important factor: 'The middle school project was also very successful but lack of funding has made its future uncertain despite enthusiasm from the teachers at both the primary and secondary school.' (Ewing & Smith 1999:9)

It is hard to determine which model this partnership belongs to on the basis of the model continuum proposed by Furlong et al. (1996). However, both partners involved have attempted to build up a collaborative environment in professional development as the partnership proceeds.

2. Sydney University Faculty of Education–North Sydney Demonstration School partnership

Overview

The focus of this partnership centres on the provision for student teachers of experiential learning through practice teaching, teaching observations, collaborative research and professional development. The partnership also facilitates the school staff's participation in postgraduate courses, and seminars and workshops for university students (Master of Teaching, B.Ed. Primary Program & B.Ed. Human Movement). Besides, the partnership creates favourable conditions for the schools to call for ongoing support from the university in the areas of English, Mathematics and Technology. According to the latest annual report (1999) by the joint committee, there were approximately 400 students who visited the school for a wide range of activities.

The joint committee of the partnership called Advisory Committee or ADCOM is composed of 5 members from the University, 5 members from the school, 2 members from the Department of Education and Training, and 2 other members from the Parent Association. ADCOM is a governing body that oversees the joint program.

Key factors

Although there has not been a formal and official evaluation of the partnership, the annual 1999 report of implemented activities throughout the year implies various key factors that keep the joint program sustainable.

The first factor is effective communication. The ADCOM has made every effort to ensure that the members involved can be kept fully informed about the activities organised by all means. The report points out:

> Efforts in 1999 continued to disseminate information to all those represented on the school site. The school community has been kept informed through regular articles in the school newsletter as well as regular reports to the P & C meetings by parent representatives on the Advisory Committee. Staff representatives on the Advisory Committee have provided regular feedback to other members of staff. Copies of 1998 ADCOM Annual Report were sent to the Vice Chancellor and Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Sydney and to Directors of relevant sections within the Department of Education and Training.

The second key factor is strong commitment, especially on the part of the school staff. In a recent interview conducted by the writer of this report with Janet Egan, who is acting as a liaison to the school site, and a member of the ADCOM, affirms the demonstration of the commitment and enthusiasm by the school staff. She said,

> These teachers are wonderful. They always say 'Yes, what do you want me to do?' And they prepare very well ... we don't get any like ...' Uh. I don't do this'. Yeah, they're very good.

The third factor is collaboration. This is characterised by the equal contribution each partner makes to the other, which is clearly defined in the agreement about the purposes of the partnership. Each can contribute what they have for their own interest. The university can make contributions to the improvement of the level of the school staff by facilitating the staff in the university courses. Also, the university can offer advice and guidance for the school to carry out their policy successfully. Similarly, the school provides a site for students to gain experiential knowledge and professional development. Regarding this factor, the 1999 report affirms the nature of the partnership: 'The school was acknowledged for the collaborative nature of the work being undertaken with the university'. The school obviously pins much on the collaborative work of both partners. In the interview, Ms Egan thinks the model of the partnership is more of the collaborative than the other two suggested by Furlong et al. (1996), although there are still some elements of the other two. She said, '... So I think the middle one (the collaborative model] by and large, but definitely the other two at times [the HEI-led and the separatist] ...'

If seen from the university perspective, the benefit of this partnership is that it keeps the university staff away from their isolated place, and involves them in a practical environment where they can see how real things happen in real time. In the interview, Ms Egan stressed the practical benefit the partnership has brought about:

> The good thing is that it keeps me in the school ... because you are here all the time but you are not there doing it ... so I think that's really good ... Ah, I think it's good to hear all the things, what the school is doing ... and what ... what ... if we have an idea about something we would like to do but they have an idea but they see as ways forward to get that idea integrated. They come from a practical day to day and they've got knowledge that I don't have. So I hear more about how school runs and ... and how people think. So to me it keeps me in touch with how school works.

Emerging problems

The distinctive problems of the partnership are insufficient time and the overload of work especially on the part of the university staff. Ms Egan actually experienced this much. In response to this problem, she said,

> In my experience, there is not enough time ...
>
> That woman that I mentioned retired last year ... She and I, about three years ago with some of thirteen students, primary undergraduate students working in the school on classes on literature with children and the school for teaching at four groups. And we were writing. We had programs — and we wrote the lessons up.

> We could not find a single time a week to write the lesson up and show it to the teachers straight away ...

And surprisingly enough, money is not the main problem. No complaints about the funding have been recorded during the implementation of the partnership.

3. Cheltenham & Gloucester College of Higher Education–Gloucestershire Association of Secondary Headteachers partnership

Overview

This is a three-strand partnership covering 11 main subjects: English, geography, mathematics, modern language, physical education, religious education, science, art and history, music & design & technology and drama. The three strands are professional preparation, subject pathways and school placement. Professional preparation focuses on practice in teaching and learning, both in HEIs and school sites with college or school staff. In subject pathway, students are asked to take a three subject module focussing on pedagogical issues related to their subject, and a second teaching strength module to gain experience in a different area of the curriculum. School placement asks trainees to use Professional Development Portfolio and they are assessed on the basis of a competence statement developed by college, schools and the LEA.

The key staff includes training managers, subject mentors, subject coordinators. The training manager is a senior member of the school teaching staff responsible for managing the program within the school, for teaching and assessing PDCE trainees, and writing interim and final references. Subject mentors support and assess trainees' classroom teaching. The subject coordinator is a member from the college staff who helps trainees to reflect on their teaching experience, develops new competencies, and is aware of issues across school sites.

This partnership is large and growing. Beginning with five schools and colleges in Gloucestershire, and covering only seven main subjects in 1993, this has grown to 54 schools and colleges and 11 subjects involved.

Key factors

The benefits partners gain from these partnerships are staff development, increased self- and professional status, and a strong and growing recognition of the duality of both trainees and training. Contributing to the benefits include many key factors, as follows.

The distinctive factor is strong commitment. A trainees remarks, '... For them, there is a long-term commitment, borne of a sense of belonging and of being able to establish enduring relationships with staff and students' (Arnold and Bloomfield 1997:150)

The second factor is the degree of collaboration in the whole program and of ongoing planning, and management. A training manager comments, 'The school has been a partner from the onset, involved in planning the course, developing modules, recruiting trainees and the training itself' (Arnold and Bloomfield 1997:150).

Another key factor in the success of the partnership is adequate funding for the sustaining of resources. A comment reads, 'The scheme is funded to a level at which the school is able to fulfill its commitment without being tempted to cut corners for want of resources.' (Arnold and Bloomfield 1997:153)

Problems

The most concerning problem is the assurance of the consistency of the assessment of trainees' performance. The solution to this problem is guidance from HEIs, and moderation among a group of schools. An alternative solution is that HEIs provide descriptors of competence-based assessment, in combination with consultation with subject coordinators.

Another problem is the assurance of the quality of provision in all schools. A solution to this problem is checking, reviewing and evaluating. An initial check is needed for assessing whether what the school offers meets the requirements. A monitoring team is established to review and evaluate the whole partnership. The training managers are required to evaluate the schools' provision through written feedback and judgement. An external evaluator, such as a senior inspector from the LEA, is also required for monitoring work.

Partnership

Implications & lessons drawn from the analysis of the models in practice for the establishment of partnership in reality.

The analysis of the partnership models in practice has highlighted various crucial issues and problems that must be considered if an effective university-school partnership is desired. On the one hand, these partnerships reaffirm the importance of the execution of the prescribed principles; on the other, the partnership models warn us of pragmatic problems that can be detrimental to the success of a genuine partnership.

The practice of the partnership models in consideration show that the full exercising of the principles discussed earlier are the necessary and adequate conditions for a partnership to be successful. The analysis of the established partnerships has stressed the need to pay close attention to four important principles while building up and implementing a partnership in reality. These include collaboration, commitment, effective communication, and ongoing management, planning and evaluation.

Besides these, partners involved in a coalition need to be fully aware of other contributing factors arising from the partnerships in practice. One of the factors is the construction of a professional learning culture, as discussed in the case study of Curl Curl North Sydney school. However, the building of such a culture is not absolutely beyond the practice of the prescribed principles, because respect and co-operation, two of the three main characteristics of this culture, are also included in the formulated principles. The third characteristic — professional inquiry — is required of both the school and university staff because it is crucial for the creation of a professional development environment.

Other contributing factors that are no less important are curriculum initiatives, and the credibility of mentors. While the curriculum initiatives contribute to the assurance of the partnership content, leading to the enhancement of the motivation and belief of partners involved, the credibility of mentors helps build a positive and encouraging working climate. These two factors affect the partnership psychologically.

In short, the real partnership is not only an assertion of the importance of the application of the principles, but also a warning of potential problems. There are four main problems of which all partners concerned need to be fully aware. They are the assurance of the quality of school provision and assessment consistency, insufficient time, overloaded work, and funding.

These problems can be tackled based on the solutions suggested by each partnership. However, the most important thing is that they may be existent in their interrelationships. For instance, inadequate funding can cause reduced staff involved, that may result in the remaining staff's overloaded work — one of the difficulties for time management. Therefore, an awareness of all problems is necessary, but what is equally necessary, is to be conscious of tracing the root cause, because if we focus on tackling the root cause, then the remaining problems can automatically be resolved.

Partnership

Possibilities of its application to the context of Vietnam — issues and problems

This section attempts to examine the present situation of school-university relationships in initial teacher education in the local context of the University of Hue Teacher Training College, and upper secondary general education schools located in Hue City in Central Vietnam. And on the basis of the analysis of the situation, the section also considers the possibilities of the application of partnership to the context and its related problems.

An overview of the present situation of the relationship between the University of Hue Teacher Training College and upper secondary general education schools in the local area

On the basis of Decision No. 534/QD issued on 17 October 1996 by the Thua Thien Hue Province Department of Education & Training (DET), and Document No. 423/GVQLSV issued on 23 August 1996 by the University of Hue Teacher Training College, a network of seven city-based upper secondary general education schools was established. This network is called A Network of Pedagogical Practice Schools. The established network forms a partnership with Teacher Training College (TTC). This is a two-strand partnership. One is the network's provision of professional training and collaborative research for student teachers (third-year and forth-year Bachelor of Arts in linguistics and literature, mathematics, chemistry, biology, history, geography, information technology, foreign languages, music, fine arts, civics), school and college staff, and the other is the college's assistance in the enhancement of professional and pedagogical knowledge of the network schools' staff.

According to the Regulations of the Operation of the network of pedagogical practice schools (DEW & TTC 1997), an official agreement between the schools and teacher training college, the school is responsible for:

- provision of a favourable environment for the organisation of teaching observation and practice teaching for student teachers;
- assessment of student teachers in their teaching observation and practice teaching;
- provision of opportunities for demonstration lessons, and optimal conditions for collaborative research with different departments of the Teacher Training College and for student teachers to carry out their research papers.

The college is responsible for:

- provision of seminars for the network school staff's professional development;
- provision of assistance for the network schools in terms of equipment and construction of laboratories, libraries and audio-visual rooms.

Besides, the college is responsible for the whole planning and content of the partnership as well as necessary training of staff involved. These have been clearly stated in the official agreement about the regulations on operation (DET & TTC 1997):

> Truong thuc hanh su pham la noi to chuc ren luyen nghiep vu su pham thuong xuyen va to chuc thuc tap su pham cuoi khoa theo mot ke hoach toan dien co dinh huong, cu the nham nang cao chat luong sinh vien tot nghiep ve mat ky nang thuc hanh su pham do chuong trinh dao tao cua Bo va truong Dai hoc Su pham Hue quy dinh.

(Trich tu 'Quy the hoat dong cua mang luoi cac truong thuc hanh su pham'. 1997, trang 1)

> (Pedagogical Practice schools are the sites where frequent teaching observation and end-of-course practice teaching are organised in accordance with a comprehensive, guided and specific plan whose goal is to enhance student teachers' pedagogical skills predetermined by the Ministry and Hue Teacher Training College.)

(From Regulations on the Operation of the network of pedagogical practice schools'. 1997:1)

> Truong Dai Hoc Su Pham Hue co nhiem vu xay dung ke hoach, noi dung, bien soan tai lieu huong dan cu the, boi duong can bo va sinh vien ve cong tac ren luyen nghiep vu va thuc tap su pham theo tung hoc nam hoc, soan thao bien ban ghi nho de cac ben cung thuc hien. (trang 3)

> (Hue Teacher Training College is responsible for undertaking the planning, and the designing of content and materials, for providing yearly training for staff and student teachers about professional development, and keeping a memorandum for each partner to be informed. (p.3)

In terms of the professional development content in the school sites, the school-based activities for student teachers organised by the head of subject teachers and school teachers include:

- informing student teachers of the practice of subject teaching and learning in secondary schools, model lesson plans, and disseminating experience in class teachers' work, and the use of textbooks;
- organising collaborative research and exchanges of subject teaching and learning in secondary schools, and other exchanges of opinions with a view to the consensus on the goals, requirements and content in helping students in their practice teaching;
- organising demonstration lessons.

Administratively, there is a joint committee called the 'governing committee'. This committee is composed of representatives from the provincial department of education and training and Hue Teacher Training College (including department director, college rector, faculty deans, principals of secondary schools, and administrators from the partner members). Headed by the college rector, the committee is responsible for:

- the selection of qualified teachers as supervisor in teaching observation and teaching practice, and other educational activities;
- the leadership and inspection, and evaluation of the whole work;
- the checking of supervisors' assessment of the performance of the student teachers.

The governing committee has a working team whose duty is to carry out the implementation of the coalition's work.

Each network school also has a steering committee headed by the (vice) principal with a view to organising the coalition work within the school sites. The chairman of the committee is assisted by an assistant (vice-principal in charge of academic studies) and heads of different subject departments.

An analysis of the responsibilities for planning and designing the joint venture, as well as the administrative structure, provides some evidence for the determination of the type of the coalition. In this model, the college has a leading role in the planning and the designing of the content, and organising most of the tasks. Network schools are involved in the provision of a practical working environment under the lead of the college, and in the implementation of the prescribed work. No attempts are made to bring the two sides into a dialogue in the determination of the important aspects of the coalition. A clear statement of divided responsibilities in the regulations on operation of the network relies for the most part upon the basis of the prescribed curriculum from the Ministry of Education and Training. The actual responsibilities of the school staff are restricted to the provision of professional experience, guidance and advice in teaching practice and observation, as well as the assessment of the student teachers' performance. It may be concluded that the coalition can fall between the teacher training college and the network schools can be in between the integration model and HEI-led model in Furlong et al.'s model continuum discussed previously.

Possibilities of the application of partnership to the context of Vietnam — advantages and problems

The question that arises here is whether the integration-type coalition between Hue College and the network can be transformed into a form of actual partnership. Let us examine the advantages as well as problems facing such a transformation.

The advantage is that the existence of the established coalition provides a sound foundation for its expansion or renovation. This form of co-operation can be seen as a rehearsal for a partnership of a real nature. One of the reasons for this is that school and college staffs have been familiarised with the basic concepts of co-operation, which facilitates them in the acquisition of the true collaboration in an actual partnership. Another reason is that the existent administrative structure is a fundamental framework to which any modifications can be made without much investment of efforts and persuasion in the attempt to change its form. In short, the present form of coalition will definitely give rise to a smooth transformation into a genuine partnership.

However, my experience of working with schools for 15 years has shown that there is a wide range of potential problems requiring in-depth consideration in order for change to a genuine partnership to occur smoothly. The first problem is that the existent form of collaboration can facilitate such a transition but, simultaneously, it can also be a hindrance. The reason for this is that in the minds of the partners involved in the present coalition, the concept of collaboration is too simple. Their misunderstanding of collaboration as working together or getting along with each other may automatically restrict the efforts to develop a comprehensive partnership as it is defined in 'Partnership — definition and scope'. Partners involved must be definitive about what a true partnership really means and what the essential components of the concept are. In this case, a workshop aimed at assisting them in being aware of a partnership in its fully developed concept.

The second problem is that schools and universities in Vietnam are known to have long been isolated from each other. It is therefore necessary to develop understanding of each other's characteristic cultures if any form of collaboration is to be established. However, isolation in the context of Vietnam does not mean differences in culture only. Isolation has also resulted in the fact that schools in Vietnam lag much behind universities. Therefore, the developments of practice provided by schools do not seem to keep pace with the developments of theory, for which universities are in a better position. To solve this problem, universities must be strongly committed to the task of training school staff on a regular basis so that they can be qualified and confident enough in their realm. However, psychologically, universities should be aware not to assume a dominant role because of their role as trainers.

The third problem is the increasing concern over the consistency in school staff's assessment of student teachers' performance. At my college, the usual solution for guaranteeing consistency involved university staff visits to classes where the evaluation of student teachers' performance results from joint assessment by university staff and schoolteachers. However, the limited number of visits for a university staff member, and a shortage of university staff as well as their unwillingness to participate in this work, have left the problem unsolved. In this case, all partners involved must be fully conscious of this problem and actively seek ways to resolve it effectively.

The fourth problem is that the liaison position is absolutely new to both school and university staff. So partners need to have a deep understanding of this position because bridging the gap between two completely different cultures is important, particularly in the context of Vietnam where the chance of keeping abreast of the new developments of teacher education is limited for school staff. Before a partnership is set up, a workshop is needed to train some of the staff to become qualified liaisons.

The fifth problem is that funding is often limited. This is a real threat to the full implementation of the duties of the staff because of their low salaries. Inadequate funding may result in the staff's unwillingness to undertake more responsibilities or duties without earning more income at the same time. Obviously, adequate funding is an effective incentive, a contributing factor to the success of a partnership. However, a solution to inadequate funding is not an easy task at all given a college's limited budget.

The sixth and final problem is overloaded work. Student teachers' visits all the year round will significantly increase workload on the part of the schoolteachers whose schedules are already very busy. This is also the case for university staff whose duty is to lead students to schools. This is a real problem left unresolved by the college which considers working for a partnership a duty for all staff to fulfill.

The major problems mentioned here are neither exhaustive nor definite. However, theory and practice prove that if these problems are resolved, there will be more chance for a partnership to be successful. Alternatively, they can be significant obstacles if they are not taken into account in the planning stage — an invaluable experience from the partnerships discussed above.

In short, the application of either collaborative, HEI-led, or separatist partnership to the context of Hue Teacher Training College and the network schools is quite feasible if both partners are fully aware of the foundation they have constructed and are strongly committed to the expansion of the model they have contributed to up till now.

Conclusion

The question that arises is whether partnership emerges as a fashion or as a real need in the educational field. Without any effort to persuade, the answer is that partnership in its fullest sense is a real need. As a direct result of the movement of school-based teacher education and changing educational context, partnership appears as an effective tool to bridge the gap between theory and practice, for which initial teacher education has been strongly criticised. However, partnership is such a complex concept that a full awareness of its comprehensiveness and complexities is not easy, let alone its thorough and proper implementation. Woven into the concept are cultural, sociological, organisational, economic, as well as psychological aspects that can constitute a form of collaborative culture. In this type of culture, willingness and devotion will certainly be a strong drive for all principles and solutions to problems to be substantialised. As Welch (1998) remarks, 'educators are altruistic, eager to embrace the new ideas and techniques if they believe they will further their mission as champions for children and youth.' Liberated and understanding minds are always of paramount significance for the realisation of a successful partnership in practice. Above all, the ultimate goal of a partnership is to bring universities closer to schools to produce people of balanced theory and practice.

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4 Indigenous languages for development: the Philippine experience

Nestor Castro

Philippine languages

The Philippines is an archipelago composed of 7,107 islands with a population of 75 million people. Because of its archipelagic character, there are more than a hundred languages in the Philippines. The Summer Institute of Linguistics identified at least 151 languages in the country. Except for one Creole language, Chavacano, all of these languages belong to the Western Malayo-Polynesian subfamily of the Austronesian languages. These languages are further classified as belonging to the following language groups: Northern Philippine (70 languages), Central Philippine (46 languages), Southern Philippine (22 languages), Sama Bajaw (7 languages), Southern Mindanao (5 languages), and Sulawesi Sangil (1 language).

Despite this big number, only eight of these languages make up 85 percent of the entire Philippine population. These are Tagalog, Sugbuhanon, Iloko, Pangasinan, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Kapampangan, and Waray. Native speakers of these eight languages comprise the ethnic majority of the country, i.e. the lowland Christian Filipinos.

Tagalog is the language spoken in Manila, the national capital, and the outlying provinces. Because of its strategic position, it has been designated as the national language since the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935. While the 1987 Philippine Constitution mandated that the national language is 'Filipino', this is based on the Manila dialect of Tagalog.

Minority languages

The remaining 15 percent of the population are further divided into 143 language groups. Since ethnic identity, especially in the Philippines, is largely defined by language, the speakers of these 143 languages comprise the ethnic minorities of the country.

These ethnic minorities can further be classified into two distinct groups: the Bangsa Moro, found in southern Philippines, and the 'indigenous peoples', who are scattered in the relatively isolated areas of the archipelago.

The term Bangsa Moro is a generic category referring to the dominantly Muslim or Muslim influenced communities found in southwestern Mindanao, southern Palawan, and the Sulu group of islands. Ethnolinguistically, they are made up of several groups, namely the Meranao, Maguindanaon, Tausug, Sama, Yakan, Iranun, Jama Mapun, Molbog, Palawani, and Badjao.

The term 'indigenous peoples', on the other hand, is a new legal category that was created by virtue of Republic Act No. 8371, otherwise known as the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 (IPRA). This law defined 'indigenous peoples' (IPs) or 'indigenous cultural communities' (ICCs) as:

> A group of people or homogenous societies identified by self-ascription and ascription by others, who have continuously lived as organised community on communally bounded and defined territory, and who have, under claims of ownership since time immemorial, occupied, possessed and utilised such territories, sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits, or who have, through resistance to political, social and cultural inroads of colonisation, non-indigenous religions and cultures, became historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos. *(IPRA, Section 3h).*

Indigenous peoples

For convenience purposes, the indigenous peoples of the Philippines can further be classified into:

- the peoples of the Cordillera region in northern Luzon;
- the peoples of Cagayan Valley, also in northern Luzon;
- the Mangyans of Mindoro Island;
- the peoples of Palawan Island;
- the island peoples of central Philippines;
- the Lumads of Mindanao Island; and
- the Negritos who are scattered in the major islands of the country.

Among the Cordillera peoples are the Bago, Bontok, Ibaloy, Ifugao, Ikalahan (or Kalanguya), Isnag, Itneg (or Tinguian), I'wak, Kankanaey, and Kalingá. They inhabit the mountain ranges of the Gran Cordillera Central and have relatively maintained their animist beliefs, traditional lifestyle, and customary laws.

The peoples of the Cagayan Valley, on the other hand, are made up of the Gaddang, Ibanag, Ilongot (or Bugkalot), Isinay, Itawes, Kalingá, Malaweg, Paranan, and Yogad. Except for the Ilongot, all of these groups have already been Christianised although they are distinguished from the dominant lowland Christian majority because of their small population.

The term Mangyan is the collective name for the indigenous peoples of Mindoro Island, found southwest of Manila. These groups are made up of the Alangan, Bangon, Batangan, Buhid, Gubatnon, Hanunoo Mangyan, Iraya, and Ratagnon. These groups are mainly swidden agriculturists. The Hanunoo Mangyan is quite unique because it has maintained the ancient Filipino syllabic script.

The peoples of Palawan are the Cuyonen, Ke-ney, Pala'wan, Tagbanwa, and Tao't Bato. Just like the Mangyans, they are mostly swiddeners who practice slash-and-burn agriculture. The Tagbanwa and some of the Pala'wan also continue to use the prehispanic syllabic script.

In islands of central Philippines, one can find the Aklanon, Bukidnon, Kiray-a, Magahat, Masbateño, and Sulodnon. They are closely related to the Visayan Sugbuhanons, Hiligaynons, and Waray in terms of language, belief system, and subsistence patterns although they are fewer in number.

The name Lumad is an exonym coined by Visayan migrants of Mindanao for the traditionally non-Christian, non-Muslim groups found in Mindanao. They are made up of the Bagobo, Banwaon, B'laan, B'lit, Bukidnon, Higaonon, Jangan, Manobo (or Manuvu), Surigaonon, Tagakaolo, Talaandig, T'boli, Teduray (or Tiruray), and Ubo.

The term Negritos was used by the Spaniards to refer to the dark-skinned pygmy populations of Southeast Asia, including Andaman Islands, Malay Peninsula, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines. In the Philippines, these are the Agay (of Cagayan Province), Agta (or Dumagat, of eastern Luzon), Ati (of western Visayas), Ayta (of western Luzon), Batak (of Palawan), Mamanwa (of Mindanao), and Pugot (of northern Cordillera). These groups were traditionally nomadic hunter-gatherers. With regards to language, what is interesting is that these groups have lost their native languages and now speak the languages of neighboring non-Negrito groups.

'Development aggression' against indigenous peoples

The indigenous peoples of the Philippines have, for a long time, suffered from the consequences of large-scale development projects in the country. Because they are usually found in resource-rich areas, these peoples have been asked to vacate their ancestral lands in exchange for the development of hydroelectric dams, geothermal plants, mining corporations, and logging concessions. They have been asked to make a sacrifice for the benefit of the majority of Filipinos.

In the Cordillera region, for example, the Ibaloys have been evicted from their homelands to make way for the construction of the Ambuklao and Binga dams, the first hydroelectric dams in the country. Until the present, the Philippine government has not yet compensated those that have been displaced from Ambuklao and Binga in the 1950s. Moreover, while these two dams have brought about power generation to the urban centres of Luzon, many Ibaloy villages around the dam sites remain without electricity.

One of the most notorious projects during the Marcos era was the Chico River Basin Hydroelectric Project. This project called for the construction of a series of four hydroelectric dams along the Chico River in the Cordillera region. If the plan pushed through, it would have displaced 100,000 Kalingas and Bontoks and would have inundated their rice terraces and burial grounds. The project, however, failed to push through because of widespread opposition. Many Kalingas and Bontoks joined the communist New People's Army (NPA) to wage an armed struggle against the dam project. President Corazon Aquino eventually shelved the Chico project when Ferdinand Marcos was overthrown.

In many instances, the indigenous peoples were not consulted at all in the design and development of these projects. In the few cases where the villagers have been informed about the project, the local folk have not really understood the deeper implications of such projects because the language used by government extension workers is mostly in English and too technical in nature. There have been several complaints about residents being made to sign documents, the contents of which they have not fully understood.

Indigenous Peoples Rights Act

To correct this situation, Republic Act No. 8371, otherwise known as the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, was passed into law in 1997. The IPRA provides for a bill of rights for the indigenous peoples of the Philippines, including the rights to their ancestral domains, right to self-governance and empowerment, social justice and human rights, and cultural integrity.

Part of the recognition of the indigenous peoples' cultural integrity is the recognition by the state of the right of indigenous peoples to use their native languages, especially for education purposes:

> The State shall provide equal access to various cultural opportunities to the ICCs/IPs through the educational system, public or private cultural entities, scholarships, grants and other incentives without prejudice to their right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions by providing education in their own language, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. (IPRA, Section 30)

Moreover, documents written in indigenous languages are now considered legal and binding:

> The National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) Provincial Office shall prepare a copy of the basic documents of the ancestral domain claim, including a translation thereof in the native language of the ICCs/IPs concerned. (IPRA Implementing Rules and Regulations, Rule 8, Part 1, Section 2l-1).
>
> All Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plans (ADSDPP) shall be disseminated among community members in any mode of expression appropriate to the customs and traditions of the ICCs/IPs including, but not limited to, writings in their own language, oral interactions, visual arts, and analogous modes. (IPRA Implementing Rules and Regulations, Rule 8, Part 2, Section 2)

To safeguard the indigenous peoples from deception by unscrupulous elements, the new law required that all project proponents first secure free and prior informed consent (FPIC) from the indigenous peoples in case these projects intrude into their traditional territories. The use of the indigenous languages for information-education campaigns, public hearings and meetings, as well as for contract signing purposes has been stressed in the IPRA.

According to Rule 4, Part 3, Section 6b of the Implementing Rules and Regulations of the IPRA,

> The proponent of any policy, program, project or activity requiring Free and Prior Informed Consent of the ICC/IP community shall submit to the IP community and the NCIP in a language understandable to the concerned community an Environmental and Socio-cultural Impact Statement, detailing all the possible impact of the policy, program, project or activity upon the ecological, economic, social and cultural aspect of the community as a whole.

The specific steps to be undertaken in securing FPIC highlights the importance of the use of indigenous languages:

> For every meeting, notices thereof written in English or Pilipino and in the indigenous people's language and authorised by community elders/leaders shall be delivered and posted in conspicuous places or announced in the area where the meeting shall be conducted at least two (2) weeks before the scheduled meeting.
>
> All meetings and proceedings where the proponent shall submit and discuss all the necessary information on the proposed policy, program, project or plan shall be conducted in a process and language spoken and understood by the ICCs/IPs concerned.
>
> The minutes of meetings or proceedings conducted shall be written in English or Pilipino and in the language of the concerned ICC/IP and shall be validated with those who attended the meeting or assembly before the finalisation and distribution of the minutes...
>
> Consent or rejection by the ICC/IP shall be signified by affixing signatures or thumb marks in a document written in their own language or dialect with corresponding English or Pilipino translation. (IPRA Implementing Rules and Regulations, Rule 4, Part 3, Section 5)

In case an agreement is reached between the indigenous peoples and the project proponent, the contract should also be written in the indigenous language:

> As a component part of the process of securing the free and prior informed consent of concerned ICCs/IPs, a Memorandum of Agreement shall be executed by and between the proponent, host ICCs/IPs, and the NCIP, written in the dialect or language of the concerned ICCs/IPs, with corresponding English and Pilipino translation.(IPRA Implementing Rules and Regulations, Rule 4, Part 3, Section 8).

In the specific case of the Newcrest Mining Corporation that has mining claims in the Kalinga culture area, it was forced to hire a Kalinga interpreter to be able to translate all of its major public information documents into the Kalinga language. The company eventually went into a Memorandum of Agreement with the residents of the area with the contract written in both English and Kalinga as official languages.

Language as empowerment

The use of indigenous languages in the transactions with development agencies gave the necessary protection to the indigenous peoples from being deceived. They are now more aware about government plans as well as private interests within their areas.

Moreover, the utilisation of these languages has been an empowering tool by itself. The first time the Kalingas of one village heard a document being read to them in the Kalinga language, they were very much surprised that their language could be written and read. Because they were not able to develop a native script, they thought that the languages that can only be written are English, Tagalog, and Iloko (the regional lingua franca in the area). With their new realisation, they no longer look at their language and culture as inferior to those of the lowlanders.

Among the Hanunoo Mangyans of Mindoro, there is a growing interest to revitalise the use of the syllabic script. This teaching of this script has now been integrated into the formal educational system in the town of Mansalay. In the same municipality, street signs are now written in both the Latin and Hanunoo Mangyan scripts. For the Hanunoo Mangyans, the continued use of this script in the modern time is very important for them as it has become the symbol of their cultural survival in the age of globalisation.

Some quarters in the Philippines may argue that IPRA's encouragement of indigenous languages can eventually be anti-development, as evidenced by the fact that many of the indigenous peoples, having become aware of their rights, now actively resist the intrusion of so-called development projects. This brings us to a basic question — for whom is development anyway? Surely, the real notion of development is not intended to exclude the marginalised sectors of society.

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5 Building institutional capacity

Suos Man & Sok Luong Chan

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to give a critical overview of capacity building in the English Department, Institute of Foreign Languages Royal University of Phnom Penh, primarily from the local perspective.

First we will outline the institutional context of capacity building at the IFL over the past 10 years, then move on to examining more closely what capacity building means in the field of development assistance in order to come up with our own concepts of it. In the next section of the paper, we will look in more detail at the capacity building activities at the IFL, particularly in the areas of training, management and networks. Finally, we will try to outline what lessons have been learnt and make some suggestions for the future.

In this paper, we argue that capacity building is place-based, in that, it occurs in a local place such as a university, situated within the socio-economic, cultural and historical context of the country. It is about building up the skills and knowledge of the people who work within an institution, such as a university, so that the institution may serve the society more effectively. Institutions are embedded in a society and even in the case of Cambodia, where they have become disembedded due to war, they are part of the culture and history.

Sustainable capacity building therefore must build on what has gone before, even when a great deal has been destroyed, as in the case of Cambodia. It is essential to understand the local history of an institution in order to be able to pinpoint the most appropriate sites or areas for capacity building at that particular time. This is particularly crucial for Cambodia, a country which has undergone a traumatic series of events over the last thirty years. Capacity building is about change, but important questions need to be asked about the kind of change that can and should occur, and whether particular institutions are capable of certain kinds of changes at particular points in time. Again, this is of great concern to Cambodia as a post conflict, transitional country.

Institutional context

The present Royal University of Phnom Penh, formerly the Khmer Royal University, was founded 13 January 1960 with a Faculty of Letters and Humanities, and a Faculty of Science and Technology. The language of instruction was French.

In 1970, the Royal Khmer University became the Phnom Penh University. At that time there were nine faculties: Letters and Humanities, Sciences, Pharmacy, Law and Economics, Medicine and Dentistry, Commerce, Pedagogy, Language Institute and the National Administration School. The medium of instruction was still mainly French, but Khmerisation was growing at the secondary and primary levels with an increasing number of textbooks being translated.

The period of 1975–1978 saw the closure and destruction of schools, the decimation of the teaching service, and the cessation of formal education. RUPP, as well as all other education institutions, was closed down during this period. Under this regime, the educated were targeted, and most of RUPP's faculties were killed. Of those who survived, few remained once the borders re-opened. The campus of RUPP was deserted for almost five years.

In 1981, the university was re-opened as a Teacher Training College and the Institute of Foreign Languages taught mainly Russian and Vietnamese. The purpose of both was to provide surviving graduates of primary school or above with crash training as secondary teachers. Until the late 1980s, the medium of instruction was Khmer, Russian and Vietnamese. Capacity building at this time focussed on teacher training and the production of texts and materials. As the advisors were mainly Russian and Vietnamese, the texts were in these languages.

In 1988, the two institutions merged to formally re-create the Phnom Penh University, and in 1996, the name was changed to the Royal University of Phnom Penh.

By the late eighties, Russian and Vietnamese advisors had withdrawn from Cambodia and another foreign language shift was underway. In 1988, the Ministry of Education recognised that in the future, students in secondary schools would need to learn foreign languages, and so both French and English were re-introduced to gradually replace Russian and Vietnamese. At that time, there were no English teachers at the IFL and the English Department did not exist.

Capacity Building 1

In 1985, in agreement with the Ministry of Education, an Australian non-government organisation, Quaker Service Australia (QSA), sponsored by the Australian government as part of the indirect aid program, established what came to be known as the Cambodia English Training Program (CELT). The overall goal of CELT was 'to contribute to the increase in English language and sustainability in Cambodia'.

The CELT program had three phases:

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Phase 1 (1985–88) goals: Address short term needs in English language.

Phase 2 (1989–91) goals: Boost education sector by providing expertise and Materials.

Phase 3 (1991-93) goals: To contribute to the increase in sustainability of English language capability in Cambodia.

Capacity building in Phases 1 and 2 focussed on English training for government staff and also for teachers at the IFL. In Phase 3, the focus was on institutional development with the establishment of the Bachelor degree in Education (TEFL).

Clearly the major strength of the CELT program was to deliver English language knowledge to Cambodians in the form of training and materials and resources. The major outcome was the development of a curriculum framework with teachers' and students' materials for the four-year Bachelor in Education (TEFL) degree.

However, in terms of building a sustainable capacity, the weakness with CELT was that the teaching and curriculum development was carried out by foreign teachers and advisors. A direct model was used rather than transferring teacher training skills and knowledge to Khmer. The key issues were:

- the early introduction of the language, and
- the lack of localisation of Khmer staff to carry on the degree at the completion of CELT.

Capacity Building 2

This was addressed by the project which followed — the University of Phnom Penh English and Education Project (UPPEEP), also funded by the Australian government through AusAID and managed and delivered by IDP Education Australia, and the University of Canberra from mid-1993 to February 1997. The overall goal of this project was to 'improve the English language capability and develop sustainable teaching of English language in Cambodia' through the establishment of a sustainable Bachelor of Education and English language training program at UPP.

The English Department at the IFL was established as part of this in 1996 when the project was about to finish. Five of the first graduates of the BEd (TEFL) had been selected to undertake further training in Australia in order to begin teaching on the second intake of the BEd (TEFL) in 1994.

We, Suos Man and Chan Sok Luong (the first and second generation of graduates), were among those selected in 1993 and 1994. Originally, we expected to be offered official jobs as teachers of English in secondary schools. Surprisingly, we were appointed to teach at the university level as lecturers. We were not prepared for this and felt that we were such a tiny boats in the ocean, although there was a short training program in Australia of four to six weeks.

We realised that the potential problems we faced were a shortage of teaching resources and references in the university library, and in Cambodia in general at that time, and building trust with our students so that they would accept our status as local lecturing staff. In addition, we were both assigned the added role of deputy director of studies — an even more challenging assignment for inexperienced and newly graduated lecturers like us.

As we will discuss later in this paper, we felt that we did not have the capacity to manage and administer the BEd program. Our training under CELT and UPPEEP was in English language and teacher training for secondary schools.

Outcomes of the UPPEEP were:

- renovated and equipped IFL;
- established English Department;
- 10 trained postgraduates to teach the B.Ed.;
- 139 of graduates from the degree (including 35 females).

While UPPEEP certainly built the capacity of the English Department to deliver the B.Ed. program, as can be seen from the outcomes above, it was less successful in developing and putting in place mechanisms for sustainability. Income-generating activities were essential in order to retain the qualified staff and to cover the operating costs of the IFL which could not be met from the university budget. In addition, the English Department at the IFL was not fully integrated into RUPP during the project, and this caused some management difficulties.

Importantly, the pressing problem after UPPEEP finished in February 1997, was how to retain the skilled and trained staff when they would be able to earn higher salaries in the private sector. This is a key issue to be faced at the completion of any capacity building project, and it must be addressed from the beginning of any intervention if capacity building is to be sustainable and building is to continue within the institution.

We would like to share with you our experiences of trying to generate income so that the English Department and its B.Ed. program could continue to run after the completion of UPPEEP, and the withdrawal of project funds.

In 1995, just one year before the UPPEEP project ended, the project team leader tried to introduce student fees within the Department of English. This initiative was neither supported or objected to by MOEYS, but it was a very sensitive issue from everyone's perspective. To try to solve this problem, the Vice-rector (now Rector) suggested changing the words 'student fees' to 'student contribution' which were considered the appropriate words to encourage students to help sustain the program when the project finished. From the project and lecturing staff point of view, it was critical to set up contributions, but for the students, this idea made them frustrated since education in Cambodia was always free, from primary to tertiary levels, in public institutions. Initially, the contribution was set at US$80 per year, with some students paying $40 after claiming hardship. However, it became clear by 1996 that some students were not co-operating with the payment of the contribution. It was decided by Suos Man as Head of the English Department, that in order to involve all students, the fee should be reduced to US$40 for the following reasons:

- the project still functioned onsite so there were some funds to cover the operating costs of the program;
- the payment was quite high as it was the very first time for school fees;
- it was believed that when the students got used to it, more changes could also be made, i.e. fees could be increased.

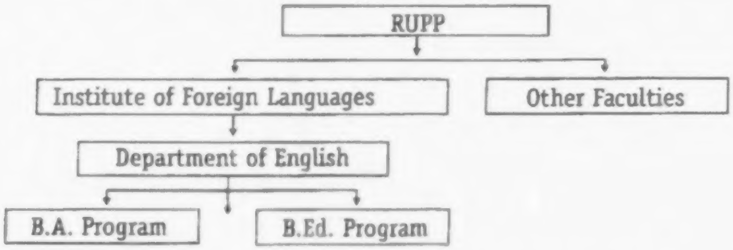
At the end of the project in mid-1997, the challenging task for the local executive and lecturing teams was to raise students' awareness of self-sustainability, maintaining the program, and maintaining quality, which were the assets the Department of English gained from the UPPEEP project.

By now, students were more used to the idea of paying fees or a contribution, so most of them paid, and very few applied for exemption. From the student contribution, we managed to cover the cost of teaching and learning materials, maintain facilities such as computers, photocopiers etc., and, of course, salary supplementation. Although the contribution was very low, it was invaluable support from our students. We were proud that they could help make the Department of English continue to exist.

However, despite the student contribution, we still faced financial difficulties in terms of the salaries we could offer our highly trained staff to supplement the very low government salary.

Capacity Building 3

Faced with these sustainability problems, the Khmer staff at IFL, led by the then vice rector Professor Pit Chamnan, worked collaboratively to come up with a solution. This was the development of a fee-paying Graduate Certificate in English for Work Skills, which could be delivered in flexible modules, and which could also form the final year of a fee-paying BA in English for Work Skills. This initiative built on capacity developed under CELT and UPPEEP, and met the needs of a group of older students who needed an advanced level English program, but did not wish to become English teachers



Current Programs and Degrees Structure at the IFL Department of English

B.A. Program: This program is to develop students' or trainees' professional skills in English for work skills. It consists of four core subjects, two electives, and a project. The core subjects include: Communication Skills, Intercultural Skills, Customer Service, and Introductory Research Methods.

The elective subjects include, for example, Basic Computer Skills, Basic Database Management, English for Business, English for Hospitality and Tourism, English for Banking, and Translation and Interpretation.

B.Ed. Program: This is to develop students' or trainees' professional skills in teaching English as a foreign language at secondary schools. It consists of Methodology, Applied Linguistics, Foundations of Education, and a 6-week teaching practice (Practicum). The practicum usually takes place at the beginning of second semester at different high schools in Phnom Penh.

Concepts of capacity building

The brief outline above of the context of capacity building in the English Department at RUPP shows some of the difficulties both with understanding the concepts of capacity building and with attempting to implement capacity building type activities. The World Bank defines 'capacity' as the 'combination of people, institutions, and practices that permits countries to achieve development goals' (World Bank 1996).

The UNDP defines capacity building as 'the process by which individuals, organisations, institutions and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives' (UNDP 1997:3).

These are very broad and general definitions, and perhaps not very helpful to local people trying to understand development assistance documents, such as project proposals, or trying to identify their own capacity building requirements.

Capacity building seems to have multiple dimensions which can include, for example, education and training activities, organisational development, structural and legal change, and macro-economic policy management. It can also operate at individual, organisational or departmental, and institutional levels. The UPPEEP developed the individual capacity of Khmer lecturers to deliver the Bachelor degree after project completion and, to a lesser extent, the organisational capacity of the English department to continue to manage the degree, but not the institutional capacity of the university. While this was beyond the brief of the UPPEEP, mechanisms to sustain the capacity that had been developed, such as income-generating activities, needed to have more attention paid to them during UPPEEP

In addition, some people prefer the term 'capacity development' as they argue that 'building' implies we are starting from nothing rather than building on existing skills and knowledge. We prefer to use 'capacity building' as it is more concrete than development and can be translated more effectively than the abstract term ' development'. In Khmer, 'capacity building' can be translated as 'Bangkoern Samathapheap'.

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What is capacity building?

Drawing on various definitions and approaches to capacity building from the development literature, this paper argues for a broader, more flexible understanding of capacity building, and has the following requirements:

- is place based: that is, it is located within local institutions within specific socio-cultural, economic contexts.
- recognises existing capacities of local institutions and builds on these in ways which are appropriate to the local context. That is, starts from where institutions are placed rather than imposing a top down structure.
- one of the problems facing all institutions of higher education in Cambodia is the lack of a national policy framework within which to operate. This has meant that activities have occurred within individual institutions, or parts of it, as is the case with the English department, in a rather ad hoc fashion, in some cases driven by donors' agendas rather than by local demand. However, ad hoc capacity building activities can still achieve a great deal of success, provided that there is local ownership and commitment to them. Changes can come from within institutions, as well as from policies imposed from above. In addition, when new macro-strategies are planned at a ministry or institutional level, parallel capacity building activities need to occur in order for these strategies to be implemented successfully, for example, how to monitor, review and evaluate a program.
- operates at individual, organisational/departmental and institutional levels. Capacity building can occur at different scales — individual, organisational/ departmental and institutional. The activities that are designed to increase or improve local capacity can be operated at any or all of these levels. We recognise that it can be difficult or simply not appropriate for a capacity building intervention to operate at an institutional level when the institution is in a very fragile and damaged state, or when government policies are not in place to support this. However, effective capacity building at an individual level may not, as research has shown, assist the long-term sustainability of institutions.

All development assistance is an intervention. Capacity building within an institution takes place at particular sites or entry points within that institution. The English Department at IFL was the entry point for the capacity building activities of the CELT an UPPEEP projects. We need to consider how these activities can be diffused through RUPP as a whole. Ways of doing this need to be incorporated into projects so that the site of the capacity building does not become isolated from the rest of the institution, or that the capacity of individuals is built, but not that of the institution. It must

- be sustainable: that is, the local institution can continue with similar work after the donor agency has left. This can mean building in ways of generating income in order to retain skilled staff, and other incentives;

- be a complex intervention that encompasses multiple levels and actors, power relationships and linkages;
- include actions and processes that link public sector, the market and civil society.

Barriers/obstacles to capacity building

Capacity building is about change to the cultures of institutions and most staff anywhere in the world will resist change, particularly when it brings with it new demands and new ways of thinking and acting. In Cambodia, due to the nature of the country in its post-conflict, transitional state, institutional change is even more complex and fraught than in countries with more stability. Therefore, staff need to be prepared for the changes rather than simply imposing them either through a policy, or by decree.

Capacity building in the English Department

We would now like to say a little more about specific areas of capacity building at the English Department in the areas of:

- training
- management
- networks.

Training

By far the major category of capacity building in the English Department over the last 10 years has been training, predominantly teacher training/train the trainer. This has taken the following forms:

- teacher training
- training in curriculum and materials development
- short courses, seminars, conferences.

The Department of English has always encouraged post-graduate studies, either local or overseas. Our postgraduate training overseas has taken place in different countries, such as Australia, the USA, Singapore, and Japan. At the present, the department has 25 lecturers involved in postgraduate studies (4 in the USA, 9 in Australia, 4 in Singapore, and 8 in Japan). Of these, 14 have successfully completed their postgraduate studies and returned to work for the department, while 11 continue undertaking the course.

At the current time, there are 24 lecturing staff at the department, with the following qualifications: 9 MA degrees, 4 Graduate Diplomas, and 11 B.Ed. (TEFL) degrees.

There are several points to make here in regard to training and capacity building. First, the training must be at the level of trainees. Second, training needs to be provided in response to demand rather than what donors are willing or wish to provide. Third, those who are trained must return to work in a position that will use their training, and at a level that will take full advantage of the training. Staff will only be

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retained in an institution if they can use their training and also if they have incentive to remain.

To retain their lecturers, the English Department has initiated income-generating activities including establishing fee-paying courses conducted at the IFL and contract teaching to NGOs, international ogranisations, government institutions, and private institutions conducted inside or outside the IFL. From these activities, the department has been able to provide a competitive salary supplementation to lecturers. In addition, the department has promoted and encouraged further study to enhance individual capacity. Moreover, since the department keeps their jobs while they are doing further or postgraduate studies, the lecturers feel even more secure about their future positions and promotions.

Different training models were used under the two capacity building projects CELT and UPPEEP, and this has important implications for sustainability and for development at the organisational/departmental and institution scales. Under CELT, the training was a direct model where the foreign advisors taught English and developed materials and resources. Other than this, there was little or no transfer of skills and knowledge. Under UPPEEP, the training model used emphasised transfer of skills rather than direct teaching. Under the Department of English, the training model shifts its focus on professional development where senior lecturers observe, give feedback, consult, and evaluate the junior lecturers' performance and their materials development.

Management

It is crucial that local staff understand how to manage their organisation after a project ends. A problem with the project approach in development assistance, and even with long-term foreign advisors working within institutions as part of an NGO, is that alternative management structures can be set up within an institution (Godfrey 2000). Often local staff, even at a senior level, have little more than token involvement in the management decisions, particularly those that involve money.

Capacity building projects also create a sense of two worlds within a local institution, with the result that on completion of the project, local staff can be left in an isolated position, not really knowing how their own institution operates or whom to approach.

Our experience under UPPEEP, for example, was that the project actually ended with the word 'end' for us. This means that we did not know how to survive, and what to do with ourselves, our staff, and our students. From the project side, there was nothing moer to say as it ended, while from the RUPP (government) side, there were no comments at all. On one hand, lecturers demanded survival, on the other hand, students demanded continuation of classes. We personally felt that we were not really prepared for such tremendous change. Although UPPEEP had transferred some skills to us, they had not supported us to explore them within the IFL, particularly in relation to self-sustainability. UPPEEPP always liked to send individual lecturers to teach outside the IFL, but never encouraged income-generation activities to take place at the

IFL. One time, when we realised that the project would end shortly, we raised lecturers' interest in running private courses at the IFL, to allow the department to survive after the project. But this was not supported by UPPEEP.

Man, head of lecturers/head of the English Department at that time, invited lecturers to pool some money to cover the operating cost of the proposed new private course. Luckily, to coincide with political and socio-economic changes, we found that there was a big English market in which we could explore and sell our English language skills. We have continued to work hard as a team of lecturers to upgrade our courses, making sure that they meet current market demands. From then, with support and guidance from the vice rector, Pit Chamnan, we have managed our own programs and courses using our common sense, experience, and knowledge gained from various sources.

The English Department staff was not really prepared to understand and manage change processes as they occurred following the completion of UPPEEP. As has been mentioned earlier, capacity building is about change at the individual, departmental and institutional levels, and so local staff need to be prepared for this as part of the project strategies. In addition, they need to understand financial management, including resource flows.

Under UPPEEP, lecturers were trained to conduct meetings, keep records, stocktake resources. This training was in administration, not management, which would include leadership, decision making, financial management, etc.

Networks

Any institution within a society does not operate in isolation, but works with the state, civil society and the market. In the case of Cambodia, all institutions suffered damage after 30 years of war, especially those of higher education. Linkages and networks between individual institutions, and between them and the other sectors of society, were severely damaged, and are only now being repaired. In addition, internal networks between departments, between administrators and other officials also broke down.

The English Department at the IFL was in a difficult position at the end of the UPPEEP as it had not been fully integrated into the university, and was seen as more of an outside group as a result of its involvement in the project. While UPPEEP aimed to integrate the English Department more into the university structure, this had not fully occurred.

Capacity building as a concept and also as a set of activities needs to incorporate the idea of networking. The Department of English at this stage tries to make links with English language training institutions inside and outside the region. In the country, the department has produced qualified English teachers and human resources with English language skills for government, for NGOs, for international organisations, for the private sector and schools. Furthermore, the department has a close link with Japanese projects through involvement in their pre-departure course, and with the US embassy in Phnom Penh, as it is a centre for TOEFL exam and preparation. Outside the country, the department has sent staff to international conferences/workshops and further training. As part of the RUPP, the department is also a member of the Regional English Language Centre and ASEAN University Network.

Lessons learnt

Sustainable capacity building

The English Department has become sustainable as a result of the capacity building activities outlined above, and also as a result of a willingness on the part of staff at IFL and RUPP to accept changes in the culture of the institution. The key for sustainability — retention of trained staff — is to build in incentives, such as higher salary, as a result of income-generating activities, and place trained staff in jobs which use their training.

Successful sustainable capacity building also requires the building of trust between local staff, local authorities and expatriates who work in the same context. Because the English Department is totally operated by locals, some expatriates seem very unhappy with its success and do not appreciate it, and some others believe that the quality of the program cannot be guaranteed. Local authorities also show no significant interest in our achievement. We at the English Department IFL, RUPP have been responsible for a large number of English teachers who have graduated from our program and are serving as professional English teachers at RUPP, Australian Centre for Education, Norton University, National Institute of Management, Faculty of Law and Economic Science, Royal Academy of Cambodia, and many other non-government organisations and the private sector.

CELT/UPPEEP

Sustainability was measured mainly in terms of Khmer staff trained to take over the degree, but not on economic sustainability. Individual staff trained under the projects could have been lost after projects were completed. Sustainability mechanisms, including income generation and how to manage this, need to be incorporated into capacity building strategies.

Need to build links and partnerships with local, regional and international universities

UPPEEP was not able to establish any linkage with local English language programs until the end of the project. UPPEEP seemed to focus primarily on the project activities rather than assisting in networking building outside the parameters of the project.

UPPEEP tended to focus more on building individual capacity rather than institutional capacity. While the IFL as a whole needed survival, UPPEEP cared for individual lecturers by encouraging them to earn supplementary salaries from the outside sectors. This reduced commitment and professional performance of lecturers within the department.

Training also needs to incorporate linkages and incentives. Both UPPEEP and RUP should have identified a few key people to carry out relevant further training, so that upon their return, they were ready and well prepared to fulfill their new assignment, and would confidently put into practice their skills. Reasonable incentives are also crucial to motivate changes and challenges during management change.

Need to promote income generation activities from the very beginning of the project

It is particularly important to do this while resources are still available. Donors and MOEYS need to support those activities including course diversifying, student contributions, and private language programs.

In conclusion, aid projects need to follow up the activities undertaken by locals to measure the extent of the delivery of the program after localisation. From the local point of view, a project could be truly considered successful only after the success of localisation.

6 International languages in education in developing countries: implications for Cambodia

Thomas Clayton

I taught my first English class in Cambodia at what was then the Soviet Cultural Center in Phnom Penh. In September 1991, this centre for the diffusion of Soviet ideology and the Russian language was not getting much foot traffic. The classrooms and auditorium stood empty, waiting for the new era to sort itself out. And, in an irony of epic proportions, that new era began with the English language.

Just a few years before, English language teaching and learning had not been possible in Cambodia (for histories of English language teaching in Cambodia, see Denham 1997, Oats 1994). What political and economic influences had converged, among what configuration of local and international actors, to make it both legal and possible for me teach English in 1991? Similarly, what political and economic influences had converged to eliminate overnight the status of the Russian language in Cambodia, and what local and international actors turned these influences into policies impacting, among other things, the Cambodian educational system?

These questions and this history introduces my overarching question for this chapter. Why are 'international' languages used in education in developing countries? By 'international languages' I mean languages that carry some currency — enjoy status — outside the geographical realm where they are spoken as first languages. Other terms I could use would be 'languages of wider communication' or 'lingua francas' (see Clayton 1998). A Norwegian scholar who is interested in this same question prefers to name them 'European' or 'colonial' languages (Brock-Utne 2001a, 2001b). As Birgit Brock-Utne argues, the non-native languages that are actually used in education in developing countries are, for the most part, European languages established during colonisation in the 19th and 20th centuries. I prefer the more neutral 'international' descriptor, because it leaves open the possibility of exploring the use of non-European languages outside their home area — though I agree that most 'international' languages used in education in developing countries are indeed both European and colonial.

Historical, theoretical, and epistemological background

With the independence of new nations in Africa and Asia following the Second World War came difficult language choices for policy-makers. In many cases, the languages used in education were colonial languages; languages that had been established by the

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departed colonial powers for the purpose of facilitating the economically and culturally exploitative colonial enterprise. What languages would be used in education in the new postcolonial nations, imbued with new ideas about independence, self-determination, and equitable international relations?

The struggles around language questions that characterised the 1950s and 1960s in developing countries inspired a new academic field: language planning or language policy studies. Scholars like Joshua Fishman, Charles Ferguson, and Björn Jernudd studied language decisions in developing nations (see, for example, Fishman 1974, Fishman, Ferguson, and Das Gupta 1968, Rubin and Jernudd 1971). From these studies emerged complex typologies of language choices intended both to induce general themes from experience and to guide future language planning efforts. According to Fishman (1972:193), for example, a nation might choose an international language for education and other national domains if that nation was characterised the absence of what he termed 'sociocultural integration', 'political-operational integration', and a 'Great Tradition' — that is, if the country lacked both cultural and political unity, being comprised instead of disparate ethnolinguistic groups, none of which could claim a 'glorious past.'

Embedded in Fishman's and other's impressive early language policy research (for empirical studies, see Fishman, Cooper, and Rosenbaum 1977, Rubin, Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishman, and Ferguson 1977) is an important assumption regarding the nature of society: namely, that language policy choices were made with the best interests of citisens in mind. Operating within what is sometimes termed the functional paradigm, Fishman and others examined language policy choices in developing nations in terms of how they contributed to the survival or adaptation of society — that is, in terms of the benefits they yielded to society. From within the functional paradigm, we would seek to explain the use of international languages in education in developing countries in terms of how facility in those languages benefits society as a whole (on paradigms, see Paulston 1977).

More recently, another way of understanding the use of international languages in education in developing countries has gained attention among language policy scholars. Challenging the emphasis on social benefits championed by Fishman and his colleagues, scholars like Robert Phillipson (1988, 1992, 1994), James Tollefson (1989, 1995), and others have explored the 'linguistic imperialism' thesis: namely, that the use of international languages in education in developing countries has been engineered by powerful groups associated with nations where those languages serve as first languages, and that their continued — in fact, expanding — use internationally extracts real and symbolic capital from the developing world to the advantage of developed nations.

Embedded in the work of Phillipson and others interested in the linguistic imperialism thesis is an important assumption about the nature of society — one that contrasts sharply with that found in the work of Fishman and his colleagues. Departing from Fishman's functionalism, Phillipson subscribes to what is sometimes termed the critical paradigm (Paulston 1977). Operating within this latter paradigm, we examine social features in terms of how they contribute to the inequitable stratification of society. From this perspective, we would understand a policy privileging the use of international languages in education in developing countries as a tool wielded by society's dominant class to maintain power and privilege at the expense of society's subordinate classes. Any benefits that result from the use of these languages accrue primarily to society's dominant class.

Functional and critical ways of understanding social phenomenon can provide the first axis on a 'map' on which to situate the various explanations for the use of international languages in education in developing countries. Against the functional-critical axis, we can lay another: national and international conceptions of society. As we will see, some explanations are predicated on social considerations within the nation itself, while others are predicated on considerations within a global-level society — that is, within a realm where nations interact much like groups or classes within a national-level society. These two axes create four quadrants, or ways of seeing the use of international languages in education in developing countries: national-functional, international-functional, national-critical, and international-critical.

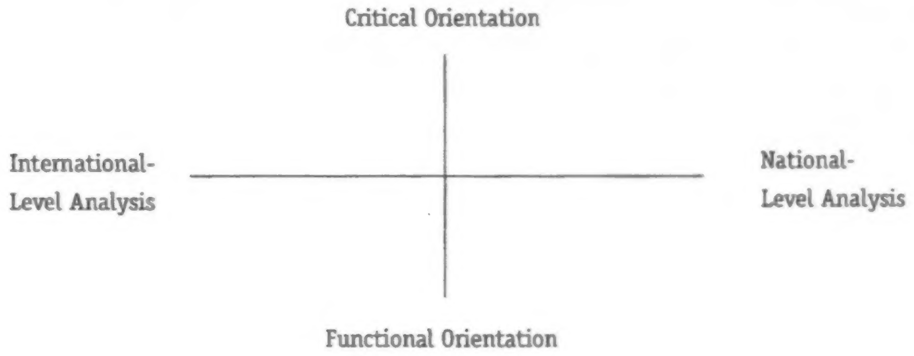

Figure 1: Epistemological Assumptions of Explanations for the Use of International Languages in Education in Developing Countries

My attempt at social cartography is very rudimentary compared with others' (see, for example, Paulston 1996, 1999, 2000). However, it may provide a place to start in typing or mapping various explanations for the use of international languages in education in developing countries. What are the assumptions of various explanations regarding the nature of society? Do they assume that social phenomenon like language policies intend social advancement to the benefit of all? Or, on the contrary, do they view the same phenomenon as contributing to stratification and the inequitable allocation of resources? Further, what are their assumptions about the level at which society operates — national or international?

Cambodian history

It may be useful at this point to provide a concrete example of language policy-making in developing countries. When Cambodia emerged from French colonisation in 1953, French served as the language of instruction in nearly all formal education (see Clayton 1995). Over the course of the next two decades, Prince Norodom Sihanouk initiated reforms that, by 1971, had shifted the language of education to Khmer in primary, secondary, and at least some higher education. In other words, in the postcolonial period, Cambodia chose to displace the international language in education with the primary indigenous language (for discussions of the Sangkum period, see Ayres 2000, Clayton 2000, forthcoming b).

In subsequent periods — including the Khmer Rouge regime, the People's Republic of Kampuchea/State of Cambodia era, and the current period — Khmer has continued to be the language of most formal educational offerings in Cambodia. Some important exceptions have emerged, however. First, French, Russian, and Vietnamese were used as educational media in some universities in the 1980s, albeit briefly and for the most part as a transition to Khmer.

Second, in the contemporary period, French is serving as the language of at least some instruction at the Institute of Technology, the University of Health Sciences, the Faculty of Law and Economics, the Faculty of Pedagogy, the Royal University of Agriculture, the Royal University of Fine Arts, and the Royal University of Phnom Penh (see Clayton forthcoming a). French is also widely taught as a second language in secondary schools, where the language policy requires students to study a foreign language — in reality, either French or English — four or five hours per week (Ministry of Education 1999). Additionally, approximately 3,000 students follow a small French-Khmer bilingual program beginning in primary school (Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie 2000). While English is not used as the language of instruction, at least widely, it is being taught more and more widely in secondary and higher education as an additional language (see Clayton forthcoming a, Ministry of Education 2000).

Focussing on the contemporary period, how can we explain the use of French and English in secondary and higher education in Cambodia? I have put exactly this question to Cambodian policy-makers at all levels of education, in all higher education institutions, and in the Ministry of Youth, Education, and Sport. What I propose to do in the remainder of this chapter is to examine the Cambodia case against the five explanations most frequently suggested for the use of international languages in education. What are the assumptions about society embedded in each explanation? Which are relevant to Cambodia?

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Use of international languages in education in developing countries

In general, language policy-makers and scholars have suggested five explanations for the use of international languages in education in developing countries: national integration, comparative cost, international communication, elite closure, and global economic integration (for other attempts to configure explanations, see Ansre 1979, Clayton 1998, 1999b). Based on the assumptions underlying each, we can situate these explanations as follows on the epistemological map introduced earlier (see page 89):

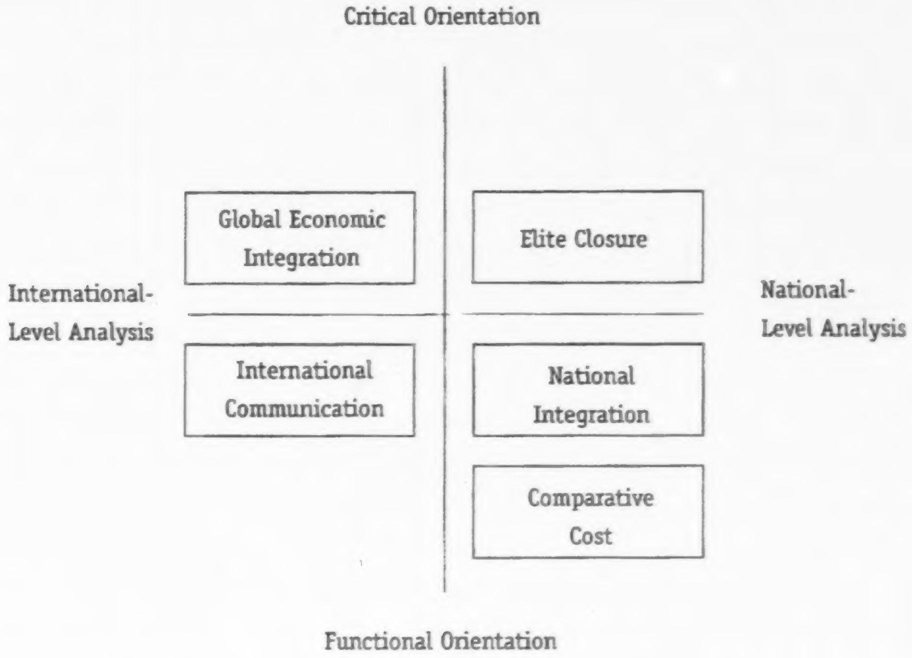
Critical Orientation
Global Economic Integration
Elite Closure
International-Level Analysis
National-Level Analysis
International Communication
National Integration
Comparative Cost
Functional Orientation

Figure 2: Explanations for the Use of International Languages in Education in Developing Countries

National integration

A very common explanation for the use of international languages in education in developing countries is national integration. In the 19th century, European powers often drew diverse ethnic and linguistic groups together within a single colonial polity. This happened perhaps less frequently in Asia than in Africa, which the European powers consciously carved into colonies representing their own economic interests, rather than historical ethnolinguistic boundaries, at a conference in Berlin in 1884. When these colonies gained independence in the 1950s and 1960s, new national leaders found themselves literally overwhelmed with the number of languages and linguistic groups they represented. Ghana, for example, comprises more than 44 languages;

Mali's 11 languages seem few in comparison, but still presented difficulties for national leaders (Ginsburg, Adams, Clayton, Mantilla, Sylvester, and Wang 2000).

While it might have been possible to elect a single indigenous language for national purposes like education, policy-makers in many newly independent countries feared that such choices would exacerbate tensions among groups and lead to conflict. In an attempt to avoid language conflicts such as those that have indeed erupted in India, Malaysia, South Africa, and other venues (see, respectively, Altbach 1998, Watson 1984, Peirce 1989) policy-makers in many postcolonial settings retained the colonial language. By not privileging any single indigenous group, they reasoned, the international language would provide a vehicle through which to draw the diverse groups together into a new national consciousness (for discussions of language and national integration, see Laitin 1992, Pütz 1995, Weinstein 1990).

With its emphasis on the benefits that international languages provide to society as a whole, and its conceptualisation of society on a national level, we can situate the National Integration explanation in the national-functional quadrant of our map. While it continues to inspire language policy decisions in multiethnic, multilingual nations like Ghana and Mali, where English and French respectively are used widely in education (respectively, Laitin and Mensah 1991, Hutchison 1990), this national-functional explanation does not have much resonance in Cambodia, where more than 90 percent of citisens are native speakers of Khmer, and where a sense of national identity is associated with that dominant language.

Comparative cost

We can label the second explanation for the use of international languages in education in developing countries 'comparative cost.' In some cases, it may be that international languages prove less costly than indigenous languages for use in education and other national domains. In these cases, language policy decisions may be motivated by comparative cost analysis. Why might international languages appear advantageous in comparative cost analysis? If colonial educational system privileged the colonial language, indigenous languages may not have been 'developed' to the point where they can be used in contemporary education. In some cases, languages may not have been reduced to writing. In other cases, languages may not have coined terms for contemporary concepts, particularly those concerning scientific and technology advancements.

Of course, a writing system can be developed for any language, and new vocabulary can be coined in any language. It may be, however, that the magnitude of this task — engaging in corpus planning activities, developing curricular materials that reflect those activities, training teachers to use those materials, and so on — proves to be prohibitively expensive, particularly in multilingual settings where corpus planning would be required for several languages. Conversely, the easy availability of educational materials in international languages, and the existing international-language infrastructure in teacher education may make international languages an economical choice for some national policy-makers (for discussions of the comparative cost explanation, see Bamgbose 1985, Jernudd 1971, Thorburn 1971).

As with national integration, the comparative cost explanation is driven by national-functional assumptions. That is, the use of international languages in education is seen as beneficial within society conceived at the national level. By purchasing relatively inexpensive curricular materials in international languages, policy-makers argue, scarce national resources are freed up for investment in other development domains, like transportation, health, or agriculture. In the Cambodian context, many university administrators put forward a similar argument. While the Institute of National Language recently organised a conference entitled 'Research, Standardisation, and Promotion of Khmer Language' (in September 2000), the demands on institute members are such that the development of Khmer for use in higher education has been slow (see Kingdom of Cambodia 2001). Lacking resources to develop Khmer within their own institutions, university administrators rely on easily available English and French books, particularly in libraries, and thus maintain and increase the status of these languages in their institutions.

International communication

The availability of books in English and French introduces another common explanation for the use of international languages in education in developing countries: international communication. Policies allowing international languages a position in education — whether as media of instruction or as second languages — provide graduates with the ability to communicate in a vastly wider realm than they could in their native languages alone. Graduates can work in international business. They can attend universities in other countries. They can work with humanitarian or non-governmental organisations. They can attend conferences, talk on the telephone, read journals, travel, and perform myriad other activities that are possible in languages that carry an international status or currency. Importantly, they can engage in these activities not only with native speakers of international languages, but with speakers of many, many languages who have similarly learned international languages.

As many policy-makers argue, international languages provide an interface — a point of access for the exchange of information — between their nations and the rest of the world (for discussions, see Coulmas 1988, Griefenow-Mewis 1992, Kaplan 1990). Because policy-makers' decisions in favour of international languages are predicated on the benefits that these languages yield, we would map this explanation on the functional side of the first axis. However, because they consider effects of language policies within a global context, we would map this explanation on the international end of our second axis. Thus, the international communication explanation appears in the international-functional quadrant of our map.

International communication has considerable explanatory power for the contemporary Cambodian scene. Many administrators, for instance, point to the availability of university scholarships from France and other francophone countries as justification for French language policies in higher education. In terms of English language policies, many policy-makers refer to the country's entry into the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1999. With 300 English-language meetings to attend each year, many policy-makers argue, comes the need to increase the emphasis on English in education, and prepare the next generation of Cambodian civil servants for the English language realities of ASEAN membership and its attendant regional economic, political, and cultural exchanges. Aun Porn Moniroth, the Senior Economic Official of Cambodia's Ministry of Economy and Finance, advanced precisely this argument at a conference in 1998: 'Given our intention to integrate into the ASEAN Region,' the Senior Economic Official stated, 'we should promote English as Cambodia's second language [and thus prepare future leaders for work in] international business, data processing and information technology' (Keat Chhon, Aun Porn Moniroth, and Vongsey Vissoth 1999:46).

Elite closure

I have thus far discussed explanations that see the use of international languages in education as generally beneficial to society as a whole in developing nations. International language policies may facilitate national integration or free up money for other national development projects perhaps perceived to be more pressing. They may also yield advantages to the country within international society, in providing a medium for global communication in business, education, development, and other arenas.

Other explanations for the use of international languages derive from critical assumptions. Within this latter paradigm, international language policies are seen as inequitable, providing advantages to certain groups over others. At the national level, many scholars point to a dynamic referred to as 'elite closure' (the concept is suggested by Scotton 1990, also see Luke, McHoul, and Mey 1990, O'Barr 1976, Oyelaran 1990). There are two ways of understanding Elite Closure. What might be termed the 'strong version' suggests that international language policies are purposefully manipulated by society's elites, whose status is dependent on their existing ability to speak international languages. By supporting the status of these languages, elites, are able to maintain their positions of power in society. Society's subordinate groups, on the other hand, who lack the educational opportunities of elites and thus do not master international languages, are denied access — are closed out from — participation in those venues that require international language skills.

The 'weak version' of the elite closure thesis omits cause in favour of effect. Regardless of why they emerge, this argument runs, international language policies may nevertheless support inequitable social stratifications, because those who control certain languages may enjoy greater opportunities than those who do not. This latter version of elite closure, in particular, may be relevant to Cambodia's language policy situation — with an interesting twist. In my conversations with Cambodians in a wide variety of positions, I have encountered many who are fluent in French, but not English. Because of the generally decreasing status of French and the generally increasing status of English in Cambodia, these individuals often find themselves unable to participate in international meetings, conferences, and discussions, which are increasingly held in English. Thus, despite their skills in the international language of currency during Cambodia's colonial and immediate postcolonial periods, they are being closed out from opportunities because they do not know the contemporary language of currency.

Global economic integration

In the last ten years or so, language policy scholars have given a considerable amount of attention to an explanation for the use of international languages in education in developing countries that is situated in the international-critical quadrant of our map. That is, they conceive of developing nations as members of an international-level society, and they examine the ways in which international languages position those nations inequitably within that society. The linguistic imperialism thesis that I mentioned previously is the best-known international-critical argument. Because it largely concerns the integration of developing nations into the capitalist world-economy, I will refer to this as the 'global economic integration' explanation.

According to linguistic imperialism advocates, the global economy operates in a fundamentally exploitative manner. Rich countries control the means of global economic production, and retain the surplus from it. Poor countries contribute labor and raw materials to the world-economy, but because they don't control the means of production, enjoy few benefits. In other words, poor countries, like Marx's proletarians, are situated at the bottom of a stratified and inequitable global economic system (for the economic theory underlying the linguistic imperialism thesis, see Holm and Sørensen 1995, Smith and Böröcz 1995, Wallerstein 1991).

Within this system, proponents of the global economic integration explanation continue, international languages — and particularly English (though also French and Russian; for discussions see, respectively, Djité 1991, Kirkwood 1990) — serve a facilitating function. Knowledge of international languages in developing countries facilitates the establishment of extractive economic structures by rich countries. Further, international languages provide the media through which ideologies associated with and beneficial to rich countries — about economic and political systems, cultural practices, and so on — may be transmitted (for a fuller discussion of this argument, see Clayton 1999 a).

Can global economic integration explain the use of English and French in Cambodian education? Some would argue that it can. International companies like British American Tobacco and Shell Oil, for example, offer or support English language education programs for their employees (Centre for British Teachers 2000). Proponents of the global economic integration explanation would argue that these programs train Cambodians who, in turn, can act as intermediaries between foreign owners and Cambodian consumers or labour and, thus, facilitate the country's entry into an economic system that ultimately extracts capital from the country and transfers it to developed nations. A similar argument could be erected around French and Agence Universitaire de la

Francophonie support for the French language in Cambodia (for details on French support for education, see Program Management and Monitoring Office 1998). Knowledge of French allows continuing ties — economic, political, and cultural — between France and Cambodia that, ultimately, return greater benefits to France than Cambodia.

The 'sharp bite of local detail and unique historical experience'

One problem with the global economic integration explanation is its one-sided view of economic integration. In fact, as demonstrated in Seattle, Bangkok, and Prague, there are two ways of understanding this phenomenon. For every protestor throwing bricks through the windows of multinational fast-food restaurants, there is a Michael Camdessus proclaiming the benefits to developing countries of integration into the world-economy (Camdessus Defends IMF Policies 2000). For every ethnography of the disruptive and exploitative aspects of global economic integration at the individual level (for example, Agoes 1999, Ganguly-Scrase 1995, Menon 1995), there is an econometric study by the World Bank of its advantages in macro terms relating to income equalisation, democratisation, human rights, infant mortality, life expectancy, and so on (for instance, Dailami 2000, Edwards 1997, Thomas, Dailami, Dhareshwar, Kaufmann, Kishor, LÛpez and Wang 2000).

Recent Cambodian history provides a concrete example. Cambodia's post-communist integration into the world-economy has manifest itself notably in the establishment of the garment industry in the country. According to a recent report published by the Cambodia Development Resource Institute, for instance, 64 percent of Cambodia's manufacturing jobs are in garment factories, which for the most part are owned by foreign parties. In 2000, the 160,000 garment workers in the country produced 70 percent of the country's total exports, valued at $985 million (Chea Huot and Sok Hach 2001).

There are, not surprisingly, two ways of understanding the establishment of the garment industry in Cambodia. According to the government, which has offered ample incentives to owners to set up factories here, the garment industry represents the first step in a process of economic development that they hope will culminate in more sophisticated manufacturing ventures, the flow of more capital into the country, and the betterment of life for all Cambodians. And, indeed, there is some indication that global economic integration and economic growth will have these effects. Since the beginning of Cambodia's integration into the world-economy, for instance, the per capita income has increased from $200 (1993) to $266 (2000) per year (*Economy Watch 2001*). Urban-rural income disparity decreased from a coefficient of 4.0 in 1994 to a coefficient of 3.6 in 1999. During the same period, maternal and infant mortality decreased by 27 and 23 percent respectively (Sok Hach, Chea Huot, and Sik Boreak 2001), while caloric intake increased by six percent (Asian Development Bank 2000).

Against these indications of a better future, however, we must weigh the present, when uneducated women flock to Phnom Penh for jobs in which they average $61 per month salary for working far in excess of the government mandated 48 hours per week.

According to recent studies by Care International, the working conditions of some factories are substandard, and many of these young women deprive themselves of all but the most minimal diet in an effort to save money to send back to their villages. Additionally, there is concern about the increase in sexually transmitted disease and HIV/AIDS among the young women, many of whom are away from the social support structures of their home villages for the first time (Forder 2001, Maclean 1999). As they cut, sew, and package clothing for sale in the United States and the European Union — clothing that they themselves could never afford — it is hard not to conclude, with Juan Somavia of the International Labour Organisation, that '[T]he global economy [is] not delivering enough to enough people' (UN Labor Chief 2000:1).

This dual way of seeing global economic integration suggests the complexity of choices surrounding the use of international languages in education in developing countries. As we have seen, policies supporting the use of French and English as media of education or as additional languages in Cambodia, can be explained in a variety of ways. Most policy-makers and educational administrators with whom I have discussed this question point to the comparative cost and international communication advantages that these educational language policies provide Cambodia. Others explain how the increased status of English is increasingly inhibiting their participation in important conversations about Cambodian development, thus invoking an elite closure explanation that suggests the establishment of a new and inequitable social stratification at the national level. Finally, while one could argue that English in particular is exploitative for Cambodia in facilitating the country's integration into a world-economy in which capital is inequitably distributed, one could equally argue that this international language will benefit Cambodians in forging global economic ties that will bring advantages to the country.

Joshua Fishman (1996:623) argues that explanations for language policy decisions need to reflect the 'sharp bite of local detail and unique historical experience'. Fishman's conclusion is appropriate to Cambodia, where it highlights the need to consider local detail and experience, in all their national, international, functional, and critical complexity, in order to understand language policies supporting the use of international languages in education.

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7 Evaluating development programs: time to watch our language[1]

Hywel Coleman

This paper opens with a simple characterisation, of 'project evaluation' as it currently appears to be implemented in the sub-field of 'language education for development' (LED). This characterisation includes a critical examination of some of the concepts used in project evaluation in our field.

Arising from a sense of dissatisfaction with the models currently employed, this paper then begins to look 'over the wall' into the neighbouring disciplines of (a) non-education development (NED) and (b) non-language education for development (NLED) in order to investigate how these fields conceptualise and implement project evaluation.

The survey concludes with a summary of findings and with a matrix for the analysis of approaches to the evaluation of development projects, with a specific focus on the concept of 'impact'.

Evaluating projects in language education for development

In this section I do not intend to undertake a detailed survey of the literature on project evaluation within our sub-field (to which I am applying the label 'LED', language education for development). Instead, I plan simply to examine five frequently employed concepts and identify problems which have been experienced with them. This is by way of introduction to our look 'over the wall' into the domains of NED (non-education development) and NLED (non-language education for development).

Outcomes

The simplest and crudest means of evaluating project activity is to describe the outcomes of the project, i.e. what the situation is by the end of the educational activity. The immediate problem with this approach is that a simple measurement of the situation at the moment when the project ceases cannot tell us how much of what we find can be attributed to the activity which has taken place during the lifetime of the project. This difficulty has been well recognised. The use of baseline studies (see below) is an attempt to accommodate the problem.

Outputs in relation to the original objectives

A slightly more sensitive analysis can be achieved by comparing the outputs which are measured at the end of the project with the project's original objectives. This, it is argued, provides an indication of the extent to which the project has achieved what it set out to do. However, as Soedradjat et al. (1994) and others have observed, this approach is beset with a number of difficulties, the most important of which is that too narrow a focus on objectives may lead us to ignore some significant developments which have been brought about by the project, but which were not predicted by the objectives:

> ... evaluation needs to be ... open to the possibility that what happens during a project ... may be different from or extra to what was originally planned. ... If the success [of a project] is measured only in terms of its original objectives then it is likely that many of its greatest benefits will be missed. (Soedradjat et al. 1994:274)

A related difficulty is that projects develop organically, in symbiosis with the institutional contexts in which they are located, and, as Coleman (1992) argues, it is not uncommon to find that the originally stated objectives become irrelevant or inappropriate over time as the context mutates.

Outputs in relation to a baseline study

As we noted above, the purpose of a baseline study is to measure specific features of a context at the point when the project commences; the same features are then measured again at the end of the lifetime of the project:

> Baseline studies invariably give some form of 'snapshot' of the project environment before its activities are under way. (Luxon 1999:76)

Any differences between the baseline and the output are interpreted as evidence of the effect of the project:

> If the evaluation is intended to estimate the impact of a project, then it is desirable to attempt to establish what things were like when the project began. This necessitates the gathering of baseline data. (Alderson 1992:287)

The major difficulty with the concept of a baseline is that, at the moment when the project commences, it is impossible to predict where the effects of the project are likely to be felt. Consequently, it is very difficult to predict exactly which features we should be measuring at project launch. The baseline therefore can be little more than a crude prediction which is related, presumably, to the project's objectives. As such, it is subject to the same problems associated with measuring outputs in relation to objectives that we identified above.

Impact

The term 'impact' is being increasingly widely used in the context of project evaluation in our field of language education for development. In some sectors of the profession, the concept of 'impact' is being adopted in response to the difficulties associated with trying to measure outcomes and outputs. Indeed, in Coleman (1995) I have previously offered a definition of impact which is all-embracing, a definition which recognises that the effects of project activity may be planned or unplanned; positive, neutral or negative; immediate or delayed; transitory or long-lasting; and experienced in different ways by a wide range of stakeholders (including individuals and agencies from the executing or 'donor' agency as much as by those in the 'recipient' or 'borrowing' nation). A rather similar definition has been adopted by the (British) Department for International Development:

> Impacts (also referred to as effects) may be planned or unplanned; positive or negative; achieved immediately or only after some time; and sustainable or unsustainable ... Impacts may be observable/measurable during implementation, at project completion, or only some time after the project has ended. Different impacts may be experienced by different stakeholders. (DfID 1998, quoted by McKay & Treffgarne 1999:3)

However, in some cases 'impact' appears to be employed more or less as a synonym for 'output' or 'outcome'. The extract from Alderson (1992) above is a case in point, since 'impact' appears to be understood there as equivalent to 'project output in relation to a baseline study'. Another example is provided by Clementson (1999) in his 'extensive impact evaluation' of a British-funded in-service teacher training project in Zambia. Clementson reports that it was decided to focus the evaluation on the first line of stakeholders only, i.e. 'on the behaviour and skills of teachers' because 'it was deemed too early to take the impact assessment right down to pupil level'. In other words, 'impact' is used here to refer only to measurable project outcomes on one very specific group of stakeholders.

Be that as it may, it soon becomes apparent that if we are attempting to focus on impact as interpreted in the broader sense, then there are no principles to guide us in our search for evidence. Impact may be found anywhere and at any time; the implication therefore is that we will need to look for it everywhere and at all times. Conceptually, then, 'impact' may be more satisfactory than 'outcome' and 'output', but the pragmatic issues associated with the search for it are daunting.

Process

A relatively recent approach to evaluation recommends a focus on 'process'. In effect, this requires the evaluators to gather evidence about the ongoing processes which take place within the project. In effect, the 'evaluation' turns into an ethnography of the project.

The issue we face here — as with impact studies — is the pragmatic one of knowing where to stop collecting data. The risk is that the collecting of process evidence may become all-consuming. An associated difficulty is that of knowing when to analyse and interpret the quantities of process evidence that are accumulated.

This brief characterisation of project evaluation within LED has identified five approaches. All five are problematic in one way or another. The first three are conceptually deficient, whilst impact and process approaches — albeit theoretically sounder — face severe practical constraints. In the context of this dissatisfaction, let us look over the wall into neighbouring areas of development activity to see what procedures are employed there and to establish whether solutions to the problems which we have noted are available.

What happens on the other side of the wall: non-education development projects

The discussion here concerns development projects which do not have education as their core activity. We refer to these as 'non-education development' (NED) projects. Above suggestions regarding project evaluation issued by a number of multilateral agencies are examined. Then we look at a couple of examples of meta-evaluations of project evaluations in the NED sector.

Later, attention will be given to projects which, though concerned with education, do not deal primarily with *language* education.

Multilateral agencies

This section examines the recommendations for project evaluation published by three major international agencies, UNHCR, OECD and UNDP.

The Inspection & Evaluation Service of UNHCR (the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), based in Geneva, publishes a handbook Planning and Organising Useful Evaluations (Martin 1998). This document is described as being intended primarily for its own headquarters and field staff.

The handbook argues that the primary usefulness of a project evaluation is not as an instrument of accountability:

> Although evaluations are sometimes intended as a means of providing analytical information on results that can be used for control or accountability, they are generally much less successful in this role. (Martin 1998:2)

Instead, the handbook identifies seven *purposes* of evaluation (ibid). These are:

- to examine the appropriateness of operational aims;
- to measure the extent to which aims are being achieved;
- to examine whether activities are having the desired impact;

- to measure whether activities are being carried out in an efficient and cost-effective manner;
- to be an action-oriented management tool;
- to provide an organisational process for improving activities still in progress as well as future planning;
- to offer an occasion to bring operational staff or program partners together to review activities for which they are jointly responsible.

These processes, it is suggested, need not be mutually exclusive.

The handbook then identifies five different types of evaluation (ibid:2-3). Again, these types are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but the handbook expresses a clear preference for what it calls 'quick and simple self evaluations'. The five types are:

- the *ad hoc evaluation* carried out during implementation, often before a decision is made to enter a new phase;
- the *lessons learned evaluation* intended to improve future operations, most commonly carried out after or during the late stages of an emergency [= project];
- a *quick and simple self-evaluation*, used when the need for decision-making information arises;
- an *outside evaluation*, used where questions of objectivity, independence or the need for a fresh perspective arise;
- a *joint evaluation* with another partner (e.g. government or a donor), useful in developing recommendations that are acceptable to more than one party or agency.

The 'self-evaluation' which is recommended for use in the majority of circumstances is what we would understand as an 'insider evaluation' (Alderson & Scott 1992, Weir 1995), i.e. a straightforward evaluation, carried out without any involvement of outsider consultants. Martin (1998) argues that self-evaluations can be efficient, do not demand excessive resources, and are able to generate the information required to support decision making. (Joint evaluations, incidentally, are held to be valuable in encouraging collaboration between agencies and organisations, and they are likely to generate a range of perspectives. However, Martin reports that they are often difficult to co-ordinate.)

Another significant feature of the UNHCR handbook is its identification of six 'basic evaluative concepts'. These are summarised in the following extract:

- Effectiveness — which considers the extent to which an activity has achieved or is likely to achieve its objectives;
- Efficiency — which considers how well resources are used to undertake activities and achieve objectives;
- Economy (or cost-effectiveness) — which considers whether objectives could be accomplished at a lower cost, and assesses whether results or benefits justify the cost;

- Impact — which normally considers an activity's contribution to the well-being of the beneficiaries, and assesses change brought about;
- Relevance — which considers whether an activity or project is well suited or appropriate to the needs or situation;
- Unanticipated consequences — which considers any significant unforeseen effect of an activity, either beneficial or detrimental. (Martin 1998:12-13)

A number of comments can be made about these 'basic concepts'. Firstly, to the present writer, it remains unclear exactly what distinction is being made here between 'efficiency' and 'economy'. (Martin does not elaborate further on this issue.)

Secondly, and more relevantly for our discussion, it is striking that 'impact' is included as one of the 'basic concepts'. The term is defined in two ways, both very specifically as the contribution which an activity makes to the 'well-being of the beneficiaries', and also very broadly as 'change brought about' by the activity. Next, it is noteworthy that 'unanticipated consequences' make an appearance as a separate item in the list. As we observed in the discussion of 'impact' earlier, some definitions in our own field have tended to include unpredicted effects within the concept of impact, rather than treating them as worthy of a category of their own.

For a striking contrast to the UNHCR approach to evaluation, we can consider a set of guidelines issued by the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation & Development). These guidelines have been prepared:

> ... mainly for use by aid agencies for evaluating aid-financed activities. However, they should also be useful for developing country authorities in making their own evaluations of aid financed activities and, indeed, other public programs and projects.
>
> (OECD 1991:4)

Whereas the UNHCR handbook emphasised the value of ad hoc approaches and the importance of being pragmatic, the OECD guidelines adopt a much more 'rigorous' approach. It is argued, for example, that, '[a]n evaluation is an assessment, as systematic and objective as possible, of an on-going or completed project, program or policy, its design, implementation and results' (OECD 1991:5). Moreover, '[t]he evaluation process should be impartial and independent from the process concerned with policy-making, and the delivery and management of development assistance' (OECD 1991:5). Evaluations, it seems, must be carried out by independent outsiders and must be systematic. The OECD guidelines identify three core 'evaluation issues' (ibid:10). (To some extent, these seem to parallel the six 'basic evaluative concepts' of the UNHCR handbook.) The three issues are:

- Rationale
- Achievement of objectives
- Impacts and effects.

The issue of 'rationale' is glossed simply with the question 'Does the undertaking make sense?' whilst the issue of 'achievement of objectives' is taken to be self-evident. (ibid)

Of particular interest to us, though, is the discussion of the issue of 'impacts and effects'. These are defined in two ways, narrowly to refer to 'direct outputs', and broadly to refer to 'basic impacts and effects on the social, economic, environmental and other development indicators resulting from the activity.' They are specifically meant to include both 'intended and unintended results' (OECD 1991:5). This definition of impact thus appears to be rather closer to the broader one used in the field of language education for development than does the UNHCR one which we looked at earlier, particularly given the OECD's willingness to include both intended and unintended effects within its scope.

In one respect, though, the OECD guidelines show similarity to the UNHCR recommendations in rejecting the argument that (financial) accountability is the principal function of a project evaluation. The guidelines state:

> The accountability notion of evaluation referred to here relates to the developmental results and impact of development assistance. It is distinct from accountability for the use of public funds in an accounting and legal sense, responsibility for the latter usually being assigned to an audit institution. (OECD 1991:5)

A new contrast arises when we examine the manual for large-scale project evaluations published by the Office of Evaluation & Strategic Planning in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP 1997). UNDP describes its approach as 'results-oriented monitoring and evaluation'. It is unapologetically concerned with outputs ('results') and is driven largely by the imperatives of accountability:

> [This handbook] aims to focus on the essential elements of results-oriented monitoring and evaluation that respond to the requirements of UNDP and the programme countries for decision-making, accountability and learning.
>
> (UNDP 1997)

This brief survey of advice on project evaluation issued by three multinational agencies cannot pretend to be comprehensive.[2] Nevertheless, from this overview three features emerge. The first is the lack of uniformity in the approaches recommended by these organisations. The second concerns the use of the term 'impact'. We have seen that — even within the same document — 'impact' may be used both in a very specific way and with a much broader meaning. This is a matter to which we will return in the following section. The third issue emerging from our survey is the tension between the need to 'learn lessons' — particularly while projects are still live — and the demand for objective accountability. (It is significant that a major OECD conference on evaluation feedback for learning and accountability, held in Japan in 2000, failed to achieve a reconciliation of this tension; see OECD 2001.)

Evaluation of evaluations

We move now to a consideration of two valuable meta-evaluations of project evaluations which, in their own ways, provide pictures of the state of the art in evaluation in the field of NED projects.

The first of these, the smaller of the two meta-evaluations, is a survey of sixty evaluation reports relating to 240 NGO projects in 26 developing countries. This meta-evaluation was carried out by Kruse and colleagues at the University of Helsinki's Institute of Development Studies in 1997.

Kruse et al. note that even though there is growing interest in evaluation and there is an ever-increasing number of evaluation studies, there is still little concrete evidence as to the 'impact of NGO development projects and programs'. The survey authors note — with disapproval — that the majority of impact assessments make use of 'qualitative data and judgements'. Moreover, the majority are 'undertaken very rapidly' (Kruse et al. 1997:1).

Significantly, Kruse et al. distinguish between 'outputs achieved', 'outcomes achieved' and 'broader impact'. These terms are not defined, but they would appear to parallel terms (a), (b) and (d) respectively in Section 2 above (i.e. 'outcomes', 'outputs in relation to original objectives' and 'impact'.) They then conclude:

> The majority [of evaluation reports] have been content to report on and record outputs achieved and not outcomes achieved, or broader impact. (Kruse et al. 1997:1)

The second meta-evaluation is a synthesis study undertaken in 1996 by Koponen and Mattila-Wiro on behalf of the Finnish Department for International Development Cooperation. (The Finnish connections of the two meta-evaluations are purely coincidental.) This study looked at 150 major project evaluations which had been carried out between 1988 and the middle of 1995. All of these evaluations related to projects funded by the Finnish government.

The overall analysis is extremely critical. The authors found that evaluation reports varied considerably in scope, approach, and quality; the reports were also variable in the influence which they had on policy and action. It was found that the evaluation reports were more concerned with the 'management function' of evaluation (i.e. 'short-term design and management') and that they gave relatively little attention to the 'accountability function' (i.e. 'critical discussion and long-term guidance').

The authors of the survey are particularly exercised by the issue of impact. They note that:

> Finnish development projects and programs have been fairly effective in the narrow sense of reaching their stated short-term objectives, but very little is known of their actual longer-term impacts ...

Elsewhere, they comment:

> Impact was the major unknown factor. It was astonishing to find how little informa-

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> tion on the impact of Finnish bilateral development projects was conveyed by the evaluation and review reports discussed in this study. (Koponen & Mattila-Wiro 1996)

The authors then deal specifically with the question of the unintended effects of development projects. They note that very few of the 150 reports which they surveyed paid 'even fleeting attention' to this issue.

Summary

This section has fallen into two main divisions. In the first, we looked at recommendations for the evaluation of projects in the field of non-education development (NED), whilst in the second we considered evaluation in practice, as seen through two meta-analyses of a total of 210 evaluation studies. The question of impact is becoming more salient as we explore further. In the first part of this section we found multiple interpretations of the concept of impact, whilst in the second part we discovered that, in reality, very little attention is given to impact in its broader sense. The unplanned consequences of project activity — included within some definitions of impact — are granted even less attention when evaluations are being performed.

What happens on the other side of the wall: non-language education for development projects

Having looked at the field of non-education related projects, we move somewhat closer to our own territory by looking at projects which are concerned with education but which do not focus primarily on language education. As indicated earlier, we apply the term NLED ('non-language education for development') to such projects. In this section we will simply identify a range of attitudes to the issue of impact, as represented by three different writers.

We begin with a contribution by Roy (1999), writing within the context of the District Primary Education Program in India. Roy's argument is that identifying the target of a project evaluation is quite straightforward. We need only look at the project's 'ultimate objective' and then identify the 'subsidiary objectives'. This leads to the creation of a 'hierarchy of objectives'. The task of the project evaluator is then to determine the extent to which these various objectives have been achieved.

However, Roy recognises that there is a 'difficult issue of impact' to which attention must be given. The difficulty arises because 'many factors in addition to program activities may be responsible for influencing change'; in consequence, many project evaluations tend to neglect this issue. However, according to Roy, even this problem may be overcome by employing a research design which makes use of 'control groups ... baseline data ... and the factorial concept of experimentation' (Roy 1999:71). From this perspective, therefore, the complexity of real-life projects — and the effects which they have — hold no terrors, since everything can be subject to a conventional scientific experiment in which the influence of multiple factors can be quantified and excluded, leaving us with a pure measure of the effect of the project.

One cannot help envying the confidence which such an approach appears to instil in the researcher.

The second approach from within the field of NLED comes from Shotton (1999). This was originally a keynote paper presented at a Forum on Impact Studies organised by the British Department for International Development in 1998. Shotton suggests that it is useful to distinguish between 'outputs', 'outcomes' and 'impact'. His definitions of 'output' and 'outcome' are rather confusing, however, whilst, as we shall see, his proposed definition of 'impact' is quite an unusual one.

Thus, for Shotton, '[o]utputs refer to the immediate consequences of the program whereas outcomes describe the more immediate results' (1999:19). Our ability to interpret this statement will depend on an understanding of the distinction between 'consequences' and 'results', but unfortunately this distinction is not discussed any further. Despite this opaque formulation, Shotton recognises that 'Both outputs and outcomes may be intended or unintended' (1999:19).

Shotton's examination of the term 'impact', fortunately, is less ambiguous than his treatment of 'output' and 'outcome', but it is nevertheless a somewhat surprising one. He argues that impact assessment takes place 'in the phase immediately after initial implementation', the purpose being to measure the degree to which the development activity has achieved the 'desired changes in the target field and audience' (1999:19, the emphasis is mine). In other words, an impact study is an interim evaluation which is intended to determine the extent to which a program is meeting its objectives. Its findings can then feed into policy-making and decisions regarding modification of project activity.

From this analysis, we can deduce that from Shotton's perspective, an impact study is purely a measurement of the extent to which objectives are being satisfied. The existence of broader issues such as the unpredictable effects of project activity is recognised, but these issues lie outside the remit of the impact study.

In the third discussion from within the field of NLED, we look at a distinction between 'evaluation' and 'impact' proposed by Varghese, who is based at the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration in New Delhi.

The proposed distinction is clear and can be summarised systematically in the form of a table. (See Table 1)

The core of this distinction lies in the first two rows of the table, whilst the third and fourth rows identify the respective audiences and benefits of the two approaches. For Varghese, an evaluation is primarily concerned with measuring the extent to which project objectives have been satisfied ('outputs in relation to the original objectives', in our formulation earlier), whereas an impact study takes a much broader perspective, seeking evidence of effects beyond the objectives (thus consonant with our own broader understanding of 'impact' as we proposed earlier).

Evaluation Studies	Impact Studies
Evaluation studies usually confine themselves strictly to the boundaries stated in the project objectives and the implementation strategies.	Impact studies go beyond the narrowly stated objectives of the project.
Evaluation studies generally focus on the immediate objectives of a project.	Impact studies usually attempt to assess the development of the project.
Funding agencies may be more interested in evaluation studies.	The participants in a project and the recipient country may be more interested in an impact study.
Evaluation studies provide an insight into the replicability of project intervention strategies.	Impact assessment studies address themselves to systemic and long-term changes brought about by a project or program.

Table 1: Evaluation and Impact Studies compared (according to Varghese 1999)

In this section we have selected, almost at random, three discussions of project evaluation from within the field of (non-language) education for development. As in the previous section — where we examined evaluation as idealised and implemented in the field of non-education development — we can see once again that the field of NLED is characterised by variety in the manner in which evaluation is conceptualised and, in particular, we find considerable lack of uniformity in understandings of the term 'impact'.

Conclusions and a matrix

As we approach the end of our survey and we climb back inside our own territory, we can begin to draw some conclusions.

Firstly, through our exploration of the adjacent fields of non-education development and non-language education for development, we have been able to establish:

- that there is as much disagreement in these other fields of development regarding the functions of project evaluation as there is in our own;
- that there is as little standardisation of terminology — even among the major international players in development — as there is in the field of language education for development;
- that recognition that development projects may have unpredictable consequences, and indeed that some of these consequences may be negative, is not universal (or at least not universally acknowledged in discussions of project evaluation);
- that the term 'impact' is very widely employed in all three areas of development, but with a range of senses, not all of which are compatible with each other;
- the two most common interpretations of 'impact' are (a) as a label to cover the widest possible effects that development activity may have, whether intentional or not, whether immediate or not, and (b) more or less as a synonym for 'outputs' (as defined previously).

Next, it may be possible to analyse the complexity (confusion?) which we have identified in this survey in terms of two parameters. These are, firstly, the paradigm of development which project evaluators adopt and, secondly, the paradigm for conceptualising the relationship between 'causes' and 'effects' which they employ.
In Table 2 a matrix is proposed which is built around these two paradigms.

Approaches to development are characterised — perhaps over simplistically — in two categories: (1) the 'input-output' and (2) the 'participatory'. Meanwhile, approaches to understanding the effects of development activity are characterised in two ways: (A) a 'correlational' relationship and (B) a complex relationship. The 'correlationists' are those who believe that it should be possible to track clear relationships between development activity and development outputs. The 'complexifiers', on the other hand, argue that seeking evidence of such a neat relationship is unrealistic; the reality of projects — particularly when the issue of impact in its broad definition is taken into account — shows that the relationship between development activity and its effects is extremely complex.

		'Development' paradigm	
		(1) Input-output	(2) Participatory
'Explanation of effects' paradigm	(A) Correlational relationship	Alderson 1992 Clementson 1999 Luxon 1999 OECD 1991 Roy 1999 Shotton 1999 UNDP 1997 UNHCR (Martin 1998)	Alderson & Scott 1992 UNHCR (Martin 1998) Weir 1995
	(A) Correlational relationship	Koponen & Mattila-Wiro 1996 Kruse et al. 1997 OECD 1991 UNHCR (Martin 1998)	Coleman 1995 DfID 1998 Guijt & Gaventa 1998 Marsden & Oakley 1990 Soedradjat et al. 1994 Varghese 1999

Table 2: An Evaluation Matrix

When these parameters are mapped against each other, as in Table 2, we generate a matrix containing four cells: A1, A2, B1 and B2. If we now match each of the studies which have been examined in this paper, against the matrix, we discover that the majority fall either into cell A1 (correlational analyses of input-output development projects) or into cell B2 (studies acknowledging the complexity of the relationship between activity and effect, within the context of participatory development projects). Smaller numbers of studies fit into the remaining cells A2 and B1.[3]

The matrix is a provisional tool, but it may help to explain why there is such variety in the ways in which evaluation — and especially 'impact' — has been discussed and operationalised.
To conclude, there may not be many lessons which we can take directly from neighbouring

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fields; the grass, it transpires, is not necessarily greener on the other side of the wall. However, what we can learn from this excursion is the importance of 'watching our language' when we involve ourselves in project evaluation.

Notes

1. The author acknowledges the use made of the website of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex in carrying out the literature search for this paper; the site is: <www.ids.ac.uk>. I would also like to thank Jaroslav Kalous for guiding me towards OECD documents.
2. Other radically different approaches, such as Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation (PME), are available (see, for example, Guijt & Gaventa 1998, and the Oxfam publication edited by Marsden & Oakley 1990, and Roche 1999).
3. It will be noted that some studies — particularly Martin 1998 — fall into more than one cell. In some cases I have made assumptions about where a writer's true sympathies lie before allocating their work to a cell; Kruse et al. 1997 is such a case.

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8 Making the cap fit: culture in higher education reform

Jacqueline Dyer

There has been an upsurge of interest in the concept of culture in educational administration in the last ten to fifteen years, mostly as a result of the need to know more about the dynamic processes at work in the functioning of educational systems and institutions than the study of static models and structures could offer. This interest has been fed by research conducted originally in other fields, especially in the fields of cross-cultural psychology and business studies. Such research has generated a considerable body of comparative data about the culture of different societies, and in the culture of particular organisations. The main concern of this paper is to consider to what extent such research can shed light on the values, beliefs and practices of people working in higher education (in this case, in Vietnam) and thus inform policy-making in the area of higher education reform.

Societal and organisational culture

Culture in this context can be defined as 'the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another' (Hofstede 1997). 'Collective programming' here refers to the beliefs, values and practices shared by any group of people at national, community or organisational level. Culture manifests itself in different ways, for example, through symbols such as national flags, emblems, logos, gestures and other immediately identifiable tokens of shared identity; through heroes, the people we admire and remember for their significance to our group or society — politicians, pop stars, religious leaders, footballers and so on; and through rituals, shared ceremonies or actions which carry special meaning. These are the visible manifestations of culture, as observed through the practices of the group, but at the deepest level, all practices are informed by values, and these are not necessarily visible to outsiders. 'Since culture consists of an amorphous mix of shared values, beliefs and practices, the expression of which is both visible and intangible, it can be a very difficult phenomenon to measure, gauge or even describe' (Dimmock 2000). In the late 1970s, a Dutch researcher called Geert Hofstede conducted a massive survey on the national culture of IBM employees from 50 countries and 3 regions from which he identified four dimensions, or axes, on which to compare differences in national cultures.

Power Distance (PD)

This refers to the distribution of power within a society and the extent to which this is accepted by those who are less powerful. In high power distance cultures, authority is seldom challenged, children obey parents, students respect teachers, for example and expect to be told what to do; workers wait for their bosses to give them instructions. There is a hierarchy of power in which people know their place. In low power distance societies, people are encouraged to challenge the views of authority, so children are treated more as equals, students do not necessarily respect teachers and more student-centred teaching methods are employed. As Dimmock (2000) points out, 'many Asian societies are high PD cultures, while many Western societies have low PD values. The more Westernised is the Asian society, the more likely it is to change from a high to a low PD'.

Individualism/Collectivism (IC)

This measures the degree to which people see themselves as individuals or as members of a group. In collective cultures, people put the goals and interests of their group (family, workplace group, class etc.) above personal interests. Harmony is emphasised, people expect to be part of strong, cohesive groups to which they are loyal. In individualist societies, on the other hand, people tend to put self-interest above group interest. Ties between people are looser, they expect to have to look after themselves and their immediate families. High PD cultures are often collectivist, and low PD values usually signify greater individualism (although there are exceptions, such as France, Italy and Belgium, which score high for both PD and individualism).

Masculinity/Femininity (MF)

This refers to 'the ways in which biological differences between sexes become perpetuated in differences in social and organisational roles played by men and women' (Dimmock 2000). For example, the values often described as 'masculine' emphasise competition, aggression, assertiveness, whereas 'feminine behaviour' is associated with tenderness and modesty, emphasising relationships and the resolution of conflicts by negotiation and compromise. In more 'masculine' societies, people are assertive, there is emphasis on competition at school and in the workplace, conflicts are often resolved using demonstrations of power or aggression, success at school is considered to be essential. In more 'feminine' societies, the stress is more on quality of relationships, people are not expected to be assertive or to push themselves forward, and school failure is taken to be unfortunate rather than serious. Although PD and IC values often correlate (high PD and collectivism/low PD and individualism), this is not the case with the MF dimension. Japan, an Asian, collectivist nation was ranked first for masculinity, and the Netherlands, a low PD, individualist society was ranked near the bottom.

Thailand ranks lower than Singapore, Hong Kong and New Zealand, but higher than Chile, Sweden and Costa Rica. The UK is ranked 9th and the US 15th.

Uncertainty Avoidance (UA)

‘This dimension relates to how people react to, manage, cope with and tolerate uncertainty and ambiguity in their lives. Uncertainty avoiding cultures tend to proliferate laws, rules, safety and security measures, and on a philosophical and religious level, tend to believe in absolute truth. Conversely, people in uncertainty accepting cultures are more tolerant of a range of different opinions, they prefer fewer rather than more rules and ... are more relativist and tolerant of different faiths and creeds’ (Dimmock 2000). Most Asian countries tend to rank low on UA, as do Britain and the USA, however, Japan is ranked 7th and South Korea 16th. France, Spain and Portugal are high UA cultures, but Sweden, Denmark and Singapore rank very low.

Long-term versus Short-term Orientation (LSO)

This dimension was added after studies conducted by Chinese researchers, and is less validated than the other dimensions. ‘Long-term orientation’ refers to values associated with saving for the future, making short-term sacrifices in order to fulfil long-term goals. Short-term orientation, by contrast, is associated with the values of respect for tradition, concern for ‘face’ and the fulfilment of social obligations. It was found that the highest ranking societies on this dimension are China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, closely followed by Japan and South Korea, and that there was a correlation (although not a proven causal link) between long-term orientation and and the economic successes of these countries in recent years. Long-term orientation is closely identified with the teachings of Confucius, and the original research team dubbed this dimension ‘Confucian dynamism’.

Hofstede’s findings (which he has validated and updated extensively) have a major role to play in our understanding of how educational practices are underpinned by human values. Firstly, a distinction has to be made between societal or national culture, and organisational culture. Societal culture represents the fundamental values acquired unconsciously and involuntarily by people in early childhood whereas organisational culture resides mostly in the visible practices of particular organisations which members acquire as part of a socialisation process, and over which, one may assume, they have some degree of choice. Hofstede carried out a large study of organisational culture in the 1980s and found that, whereas national cultures are rooted in people’s values and change very slowly, cultural differences at organisational level are mostly rooted in practices, and therefore more susceptible to change (Hofstede 1997). However, organisations and educational institutions are human creations, and they are embedded in particular cultural contexts — national, religious, ethnic, regional and so on. All organisational culture therefore operates within the larger context of societal culture, so the values of the members of the organisation are conditioned by their national culture, regardless of the practices they may acquire as a a member of an organisation. It is not possible or even accurate to say that every individual within a particular cultural group has the same values. Nevertheless, what emerges from the data is that there are clear and observable differences between the values of groups of people from different nations or societies, and these differences will determine, to a considerable degree, how such groups may react to different phenomena.

This paper is concerned specifically with the case of higher education reform in Vietnam, although much of it will be applicable to general educational reform in any country. My objective as a researcher was to find a method for analysing Vietnamese societal culture and the organisational culture of higher education in order to evaluate the impact of specific theories and practices on those within the system. One of the dangers inherent in such an approach is that of unconsciously applying one's own cultural norms to an analysis of a different culture. In the case of western researchers, they are aided and abetted in this distortion by the fact that most of the literature of educational administration has been produced by western researchers assuming they are dealing with a western context. In order to avoid this, I adopted a cross-cultural comparative approach using Hofstede's empirically derived dimensions for both societal and organisational culture.

The significance of cultural differences to educational reform

The rapid spread of globalisation and internationalisation in education in the last years of the 20th century, and the emphasis on 'development' has meant that 'societies throughout the Asia Pacific region, but especially those in Southeast Asia, have strained to accommodate new values emanating from the global culture. Social, economic, political and cultural institutions have undergone radical transformation in little more than a decade' (Hallinger 2000). Nowhere has this been more acutely felt than in schools and universities in the region. As Hallinger asks: 'Can Southeast Asia's education systems both meet the demand of an expanding student population, and satisfy rising expectations for educational quality?' The answer to this question is not yet clear, but what is certain is that the pressure on governments to provide what the rising middle classes expect is increasing. The role of the private sector is highly significant in providing what state educational systems appear to lack, and there is no shortage of providers, many of them from western countries (usually the UK, the USA and Australia) ready to sell expertise from their own countries to eager consumers in Southeast Asia.

There are two direct consequences of this situation which are a cause for some concern. The first is that increasing numbers of future leaders from the developing nations of Southeast Asia are receiving their higher education in western countries (as scholarship or self-paying students), or in western-oriented private institutions. ‘This results in the transfer of our knowledge base to their societies, too often without sufficient critique concerning its cultural salience and validity’ (Hallinger and Leithwood 1996). Secondly, in response to pressure and in an attempt to identify educational policies and methods which could measure up to peoples' expectations, education system leaders in Southeast Asia have looked to western theories and practices for solutions, perceiving these to be what their own public admire. Clive Dimmock and Allan Walker have conducted research in Hong Kong showing how the tendency to adopt western educational practices is often at odds with the cultural values of the people (Dimmock and Walker 1998b); Dimmock 2000, Dimmock 2000, Dimmock and Walker 2000). They point out that ‘traditional Chinese values ... are deeply embedded in schools’, and cite examples of western-style reforms sitting uncomfortably with certain Chinese values, such as respect for age, (so that a young, reformist principle could meet considerable resistance from older, especially male, members of staff), the belief that connections are more important than competence in teacher recruitment, and the emphasis on harmony and relationships which makes it difficult to confront serious differences of opinion (Dimmock 2000). Phillip Hallinger and Kenneth Leithwood have focussed on the problems facing educational leaders in adapting to change in this era of globalisation. They stress the importance of cultural context in determining the values and normative expectations of systems and therefore of the leaders within them (Hallinger and Leithwood 1996). This influence extends also to the knowledge base underlying administrative practice. In other words, the goals of leaders and administrators are heavily conditioned by the cultural context of the wider society in which they operate.

The case of Vietnam

There is no doubt that the concerns outlined above are highly relevant to Vietnam. The pressure to reform the education system is coming from both parents and educational specialists. Although insider comment is rarely made public, and ordinary staff members are used to having their views ignored or overlooked, occasional quotations from senior (or retired) educational specialists in the national press (*Vietnam News* 2000) reveal a serious concern with the need to change learning and teaching styles in order to promote more effective learning, and foster interest in lifelong learning on the part of society generally. The main concerns of parents are those identified by Hallinger above, that is, they want better access to and quality of education for their children so as to ensure material security in the future. At present, there is a growing trend for parents to send their children overseas for higher education, and for this they are willing to make considerable financial sacrifices. The main reasons for this would appear to be, firstly, the belief that western education systems are more ‘developed’ than the Vietnamese system and that they are capable of delivering higher quality programs, and secondly, perhaps as a consequence of this trend, there is a fear that a Vietnamese university education may no longer be enough to secure a good job, and that an overseas education will increase their child's employability and earning capacity. In the last five years, there has been an increase in schools and programs set up by partnerships of Vietnamese and western education providers to bring western-style education to people on their home territory, and thereby reduce the cost. As a result, there is an increasing likelihood that, in seeking reforms to the higher education system, system leaders in Vietnam may look to the models their people are willing to invest in, and replicate part or all of them as a ready solution.

The problem

Already there is evidence that Vietnamese education looks to western practices to inform its own. One example is the so-called 'credit system' of assessment adopted by the Ministry of Education and Training and applied to universities in 1997. The rationale for introducing it was that it would give students 'greater flexibility', but in fact, the only change it brought was the abolition of final 'national' examinations for undergraduate degrees. (Previously, students had to pass each year of a degree course in each subject, and then sit a national final examination in the core components of the course). Whether this has made a qualitative difference to the experiences of students or teachers is a moot point, but it is a 'western', therefore 'developed' practice, and a sign of advancement, like driving a car instead of riding a motorcycle, and ordering takeaway pisza instead of eating a bowl of noodles on the street.

In 1998, the World Bank published its Higher Education Project Appraisal Report, which examines the goals and strategies for achieving reform of the higher education sector through a loan project to the Ministry of Education and Training (World Bank 1998). Despite the imminence of the project, the report was unable to identify the strategies for achieving five key areas of reform. Under the section headed Higher Education Policy Development, it stated that while the government of Vietnam had indicated the general direction reforms would take, and the policies made to date, 'there are some areas such as pricing policy, institutional autonomy and accountability, and quality assessment and monitoring, where government has indicated a general direction but where additonal work is needed'. In 2000, the author made a visit to the newly set up Project Monitoring Unit to gather data for a study of educational quality. On being introduced to one western and two Vietnamese senior consultants, she asked what steps were being taken to identify strategies for setting up quality assurance mechanisms. The answer was that the team intended to visit the UK, Australia and India, among others, in order to inspect their systems and identify a suitable model for Vietnam. When the author challenged this approach, asking why there was no research being conducted in Vietnam to find the best way of introducing quality assurance, the western consultant responded: 'Well, if you don't know what's available, how can you decide what you need?'.

The way forward

Despite the lack of empirical data to inform a study of societal culture in Vietnam, a tentative profile can be developed from comparisons between verifiable observations and data for other countries, as well as the literature available on the general area. The author is currently involved in doctoral research in this area and has also carried out a small scale survey of organisational culture in a Hanoi university. A summary of the findings gives the following profile, which in turn points to specific concerns with regard to higher education reform.

Brief profile

Vietnam is a high power distance, collectivist culture, similar (but not identical to) its near neighbours Thailand, Hong Kong, China and Taiwan. It would probably rank as low for 'masculinity', although perhaps higher than Thailand and lower than Hong Kong. It would probably score as low for Uncertainty Avoidance and average to low for Long-term Orientation, although these dimensions would have to be studied in the light of Vietnam's economic status.

Universities tend to be staffed by people who are committed more to their institution than their profession, and who usually stay in one place for most of their teaching career, having graduated from the same university. Relationships between people are governed by the complex networks that operate in wider society — in other words, people show loyalty to those in their in-group on the basis of kinship, patronage or friendship. There is emphasis on harmony and the avoidance of conflict situations, which, if they occur, are usually settled by compromise or negotiation. Relationships between managers and staff are characterised by formality at the official level, but informality in one-to-one situations (with age being more important than rank within the institution).

Control is exerted through the application of rules from the Ministry, but flexible interpretations of these rules are common among senior managers, largely for their own convenience. Because of extremely low government salaries and the need to earn supplementary income, there is broad tolerance of teacher substitution, timetable rearrangement, and the conducting of private business activities on the university's premises, and in its time provided it remains discreet. Promotion is usually made on the basis of relationships and 'favours', and grants from the public purse, overseas trips and other benefits are seen as 'rewards'. There is a marked disrespect among staff for authority, and a willingness to break rules perceived to be meaningless. The combination of high power distance and collectivism, operating in a rigid (if creaking) bureaucratic system imposed by a fast fading political ideology, has created many opportunities for corruption and abuses of power, some of which have been exposed and punished, but many of which are allowed to continue unchecked. The dual nature of the organisational culture — rigid, rule-oriented, bureaucratic on the one hand, and flexible, person-oriented, loosely controlled on the other — makes for a complicated situation when it comes to implementing change, largely because those with the greatest power to make decisions have the most to lose from changing the status quo.

It should be clear by now that the imposition of educational practices originally designed for a different cultural (and, perhaps, economic) context have little chance of being sustainable. The dilemmas and conflicts arising with regard to educational reforms in semi-westernised societies, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, are well-documented (Zhang 1994, K.M.Cheng 1995, Dimmock 2000), but in Vietnam there is the additional danger (common in less developed countries) of the adoption of half-digested theories and practices that are neither implemented according to their original design or purpose, nor fit to the existing culture, and so remain like white elephants on the educational landscape. One example of this is the fad for terminology — 'credit system' 'learner-centred approach', 'communicative methodology', 'skimming and scanning' (the field of English language teaching being particularly redolent of such borrowings) — applied to situations very far removed from their original conceptions.

At a higher level, however, are issues such as 'quality assurance strategies', which have a direct bearing on how Vietnam's educational administration improves the content and delivery of its higher education programs in the coming decades, and on subsequent public confidence in the state system. This is an example of a problem that cannot be seriously addressed without simultaneously addressing the hidden reasons for poor public confidence in the education system (and authority generally), and exploring culturally acceptable ways of changing practices at the organisational level to achieve sustainable results.

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9 Language policy, literacy development, and book sector development

Martin Ferns

Language and development

The conference's stated focus is on the role of language in development activities — what sort of development are we concerned with? The use of language is integral to all spheres of life — personal, community, educational, economic, commercial, governmental, and so on. 'Development activities' implies economic development, or national development, but the focus on language implies educational or cultural development, or more specifically, literacy development, as well as the personal development that must accompany these. This presentation focuses on the role of language in the development of one economic sector — the book sector — which is itself of key importance to language and literacy development. We develop language and literacy skills partly to have access to knowledge through books and other forms of the written word — we develop books and reading materials to foster the development of language and literacy skills.

Language is fundamental to human activity, but many people manage with only spoken language. Globally, at the end of the 20th century, 85.3% of males and 73.6% of females were literate, though the figures were only 60.8% and 40.5% respectively in the '[l]east developed countries' (UNESCO data 2000). We all believe reading and writing is important — but it is still necessary to ask why. Does it matter that some people are illiterate? Well, yes — literacy is essential for education, important for much employment, necessary for access to the information that surrounds us, including, increasingly, in the World Wide Web.

Answering the question 'why literacy?' should provoke further questions: What do people need to read, or to write? What do people want to read? In which language or languages? Different languages may be used for different purposes or different activities, and these uses may differ between different language groups. For example, in Cambodia, about 90% speak Khmer as their first language: Khmer, and to some extent still French, are the language of government, and Khmer of daily use, but English is increasingly the language of commerce (though Chinese plays an important role too). In Tanzania, the majority of people will have a local language (kiPare, kiNyakusa, kiSafwa, kiHehe or one of the other 125 tribal languages) as their first language, with kiSwahili as their second language, English (if spoken) as the third language. However, the local language now functions only in a social and cultural context, as all official dealings are in kiSwahili with English as a necessity for middle and higher government officials and trade.

Further questions concern the materials for reading. Do people have access to the reading materials they need or want? How can they gain access to them? This is of course where the book sector comes in — libraries, bookshops, book distributors, publishers, printers and other supporting organisations and businesses, as well as the formal education system. Again, the question of which language reading materials should be produced in is fundamental, and has implications for the publishing sector.

This paper takes as axiomatic that literacy is important, and that it can best be learnt in the mother tongue (or first language), and that national language policy and educational policy must reflect the importance of first-language literacy. For literacy to be sustained, appropriate reading materials need to be readily available, at affordable prices. Development of a viable book sector is essential to ensure that reading materials continue to be available for all. Figure 1 (p. 129) shows books and reading materials at the centre of an interconnected set of issues covering language, literacy and the book sector. One key concept is that of a 'reading culture' (whether nationally or among a target population), by which is usually implied a culture, or a society:

- where there are high levels of literacy;
- where reading is an everyday activity for most people, at work and recreationally;
- where reading materials are readily available, at school, in the home, in the shops and markets, and in libraries.

Each of these aspects are more likely to occur, or to develop, if reading materials are available in the first language of all groups within the population.

Language and national policy

Language is integral to publishing activities — the medium of what is written and published, as well as a key determinant of the market. To a degree, authors and publishers of books and the printed media are the custodians of the language, influencing, or even determining, what people read, as well as the qualities of the language in which it is expressed. Publishers do not generally influence language policy — but language policy has a major impact on their activity and markets. We must recognise that it is as impractical to legislate for which languages people will want to read, as it is to legislate for which languages people speak in their home environments — even if their actual reading is determined at least partly by the availability of reading materials.

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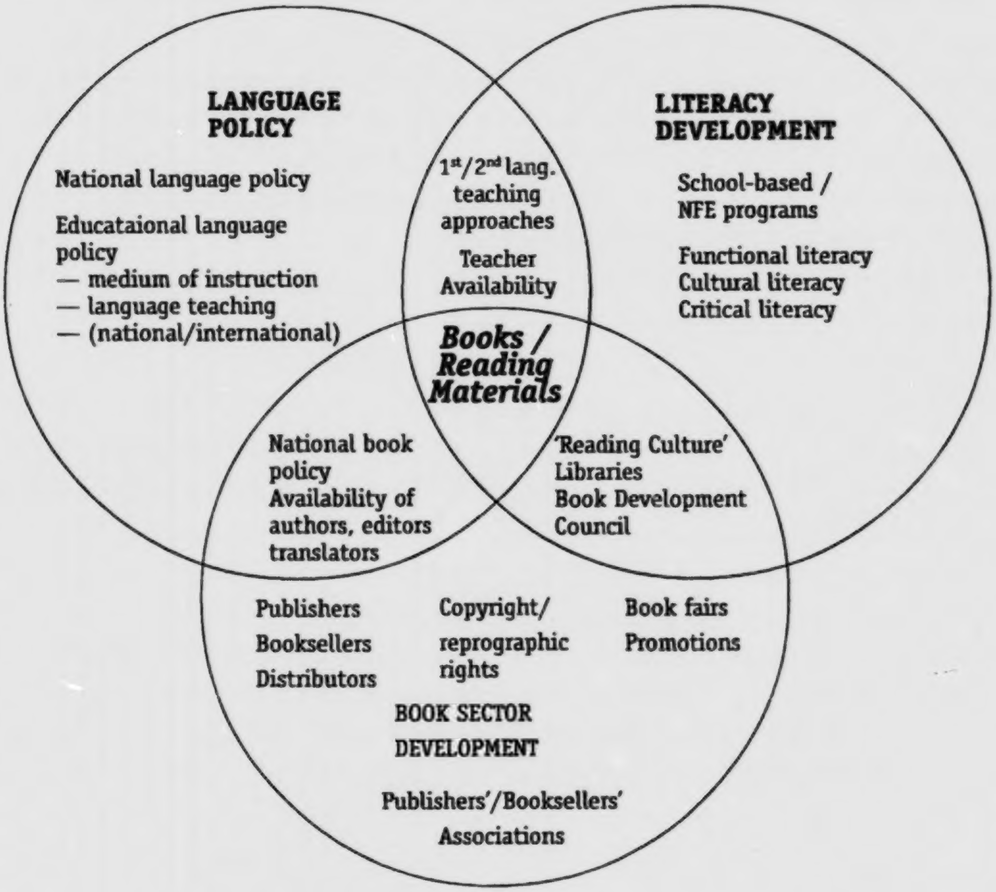
LANGUAGE POLICY
National language policy
Educataional language policy
— medium of instruction
— language teaching
— (national/international)
1st/2nd lang. teaching approaches
Teacher Availability
LITERACY DEVELOPMENT
School-based / NFE programs
Functional literacy
Cultural literacy
Critical literacy
Books / Reading Materials
National book policy
Availability of authors, editors translators
'Reading Culture'
Libraries
Book Development Council
Publishers
Booksellers
Distributors
Copyright/ reprographic rights
Book fairs
Promotions
BOOK SECTOR DEVELOPMENT
Publishers'/Booksellers' Associations

Figure 1: Language / Literacy / Book Sector Model

Historically, the adoption of one or more official languages (for the business of government and administration, as the medium of instruction for education, and for broadcasting and the media), as well as a national language (to be used for communication between different language groups in a country), is a complex process, balancing political factors (status of different language groups, ideas of national unity), and practical considerations (number of speakers in key professions — civil servants, lawyers, teachers; degree of 'development' of different languages). The colonial heritage of many countries (particularly in Africa and South America) has often led to the adoption of the former colonial language (English, French, Spanish or Portuguese) as the country's official language, even though it may be only the third or fourth language of the majority of the population. This has benefits in facilitating communication internationally, but obvious drawbacks in internal communications, often privileging an elite at the expense of the majority. Asian countries have generally resisted the adoption of colonial languages, instead selecting either the majority language or a more politically neutral alternative (such as Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia, rather than Javanese — the largest language group — or Dutch.

The most recent example of the dilemma is East Timor, where choices are being made between Portuguese (seen as the old colonial language — not necessarily in a negative light — and spoken mainly by the older generation), Bahasa Indonesia (seen as a language of oppression today, but spoken by the majority, including schoolchildren), and a local language (over twenty in use, the main one being Tetum, which also has five dialects — anecdotal evidence indicates most East Timorese speak and or understand the Tetum spoken in Dili, the capital). In the interim before the new constitution is written, Portuguese has been adopted as the official language, with Bahasa Indonesia as medium of instruction still for Grades 3 and up, while Grades 1 and 2 are being taught using books with little written language (including Finnish books) to allow teachers to teach in the language they and the pupils feel most comfortable with, and Tetum still being the lingua franca for daily life.

Once made, changing the decision might itself cause social or political upheaval, necessitating considerable re-training, re-design and reprinting of administrative forms, translation of laws, constitutions, etc. One example, is the change in some former USSR states from the use of Russian as an official language to the use of a national language. Perhaps more common is a change to the status of languages of minority groups within a more pluralist context. For example, a language or a number of languages may be added to the list of those officially recognised, requiring the printing of government information in the additional language(s), the broadcasting of news or other TV or radio programs, or the development of new educational materials for teaching the language as a subject, or for its use as a medium of instruction. (As, for example, with Chitumbuka, after the re-introduction of a multi-party political system in Malawi in 1994.)

Whether or not a country has a detailed language policy, practical decisions must be made about education. Which language is selected as medium of instruction? Which should be taught, as first and second, or additional, languages? Is this the same at primary, secondary, tertiary levels? And in different provinces or regions?

Worldwide, the movement towards greater political pluralism has allowed a focus on the needs of ethnic minorities, with corresponding greater official recognition of the educational benefits of education in a mother tongue. For example, Zambia is moving to teaching initial literacy (in Grade 1 and 2) in a 'familiar language' — the main Zambian language spoken in the school area, or familiar to the majority of children — rather than in English, as has been the case since soon after independence in 1965. (Zambia is estimated to have 41 distinct languages, though only seven have hitherto been taught in schools.) In Cambodia, materials are being developed for some of the small minorities in the hill-regions of Rattanakiri and Mondulkiri. In Nigeria, which has long had a federal system of government, it has also been the policy to use the 'language of the immediate community' as the language of instruction in primary schools, though the policy has yet to be fully implemented (Nwankwo 1999). Ethiopia is undergoing a process of vernacularisation of primary education in which regions can use the language of instruction. As a result, 'Amharic, the language that had served as a national medium of instruction for more than three decades, is being replaced by ethnic languages in most regions ... The Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SSPNR) ... has [had] to deal with several dozen languages ... others, such as Amhara, Oromo, and Tigray, had to deal with only one' (Teferra 1999:84, 88).

In general, the decision of which languages to select as medium of instruction, and which should be taught as subjects, must take into account:

- which languages pupils will require, for their education at higher levels, and for their daily life;
- which languages are spoken by pupils, and which therefore will be the most effective language for the teaching of literacy, especially initial literacy;
- the level of development of each language, in terms of its orthography, formal grammar, and capability to express technical concepts, for example.
- the availability of teachers able to teach in the different languages — likewise, the availability of teacher-trainers;
- the availability of materials in the different languages to support the educational process, and/or of capacity to develop and publish them.

As with all educational planning, present needs and constraints must be balanced with projections of future needs and opportunities, and costed to ensure that budgets are not overstretched.

Generally, such decisions are made on a mixture of pedagogical and political grounds, and the education system must adapt. For example, if educational considerations determine that Language A should be the medium of instruction, then teachers must be trained and materials developed. It is a matter of planning, scheduling and the deployment of resources. (Both Nwankwo (1999) and Teferra (1999) complain that the pace of policy implementation has been inappropriate — too slow in Nigeria and too fast in Ethiopia.) However, resources are often scarce, including both human and financial resources. Typically, more resources are allocated to primary than secondary, but much smaller enrolments at secondary and tertiary education result in higher budget allocations per pupil than at primary. The bulk of the available budgets tends to go on salaries, rather than materials. In developing countries, in recent years, international agencies have focussed on primary (or basic) education, and governments have therefore found it easier to implement new programs at lower educational levels than higher.

The availability of materials has been identified as a major factor influencing the success of any educational program in improving student achievement. The much quoted evidence for this was reported by Heynemann in 1978:

> From the evidence we have so far, the availability of books appears to be the single most consistently positive school factor in predicting academic achievement. In fifteen of the eighteen statistics, it is positive; this is, for example, more favourable than the thirteen out of 24 recently reported for teacher training. (cited in Searle 1985, I, and many times since, including in Montagnes 2000:3)

In the past 30 years or so, primary curriculum and materials development projects and programs have been undertaken in many countries, often with international support, resulting in textbooks, teacher's manuals, and other supporting materials — all developed in, or adapted into, the chosen language. At primary level, enrolments are large, and print runs may therefore be enormous — around 300,000 per title even in a small population country like Cambodia (population: 10.5 million); nearer 1-2 million per title in a country like Vietnam (population: 76 million). These can be logistically difficult, where the total requirements must be printed and distributed annually (especially where a country's printing or distribution capacity is limited), but should be cost effective in terms of lower unit costs.

Latterly, secondary education has become more of a focus. Here there are often fewer schools and smaller enrolments, resulting in fewer logistical problems for materials provision, but higher per-pupil development costs, and higher unit costs for production. The cost of developing a new secondary course can be prohibitive, even if the capability exists among teachers and other educators to develop materials of a sufficiently high quality. Where curricula are regionally or internationally similar (as they often are at secondary level) it may be possible for a country to utilise books from an international source — often therefore, by definition, in an international language, though translation or adaptation may be agreed with the original publisher. Cultural inappropriacy needs to be guarded against.

At tertiary level, the possibility for adoption or adaptation of materials is even more evident. Few universities anywhere in the world can afford to develop materials for their own courses, and it is equally out of the question for many countries with small tertiary populations, and (as important) insufficient academics with the ability to develop materials. Even translation at this level is often problematic, due to a shortage of skilled, specialised translators in fields. Countries in this position must therefore use books developed in neighbouring countries or for the international market — for English-speaking, or French- or Spanish-speaking countries. Besides, one of the skills which tertiary students need to acquire is the ability to read, understand and critique original sources for what has been identified by McLaren (1998) as 'critical literacy', a deeper level of literacy than 'functional literacy'.

The need for students to develop language skills to enable them to master concepts at tertiary level then has implications for the teaching of languages at secondary schools, and possibly for the medium of instruction at primary as well as secondary levels. Thus, the lack of materials in national languages at tertiary level can be a major influence on the choice of medium of instruction throughout the educational system.

This is an oversimplification, of course, since there is a matrix of factors involved, with the hegemony of the west (and the English language) in information and knowledge (and language use) at its centre. If the exchange of ideas in academic conferences is usually in English, then all academics must sooner or later learn English. Similarly, if the exchange of ideas or information on the Web is in English, Web users must learn English, or be marginalised. We are all familiar with these pressures.

Options for educational materials development

For educational changes driven by curriculum innovations, such as the introduction of additional languages as subjects in the curriculum, or a change in the medium of instruction at a particular level, a major effort must be initiated to ensure that materials are provided to schools to support the implementation of the new policy. Historically in the developing countries, materials development has usually been under the control of government ministries, particularly education. The trend in the past 15 years has been to shift responsibility to the private sector.

A typical ministry-based scenario follows — there have been many variations on this basic theme within formal education systems around the world. The locus and scale of non-formal literacy programs may differ, but the general issues may well remain the same.

The usual locus for materials development is within the Ministry of Education's curriculum development institute (CDI). The program or project (whether or not donor-funded) will normally include a variety of elements:

- planning;
- revision of the curriculum and development of syllabuses;
- development of teacher training programs;
- development, production and introduction of new materials (perhaps with an element of teacher orientation), at an agreed book/student ratio.

The development and provision of materials is expensive, and often the Ministry must seek external funding, in many cases from a donor within a project framework. With the completion of teacher orientation and introduction of the materials into the classroom, the funding is exhausted; recurrent budgets are usually at a much lower level than the new levels of provision require.

Government CDI-based interventions have a tendency to (but do not always) result in traditional educational approaches, conservative in methodology, and monolithic. This has advantages — easier to implement (simpler training/orientation needs), coverage of the whole curriculum (though integration between subjects, including a language across the curriculum approach, is often still difficult). However, disadvantages may arise from the concentration of all materials development skills and experience under one roof, which also has the responsibility for evaluating the quality of the curriculum. In such circumstances quality can be a problem, particularly if the CDI's own staff are selected as materials developers irrespective of their materials development skills. Later change becomes problematic, without a fresh perspective. A further problem is that development costs are often hidden in government or project budgets, and not built into costings of the final printed materials. This can provide an unfair and unfavourable comparison with prices of alternative materials available on the market, or subsequent calculations based on commercial costing which incorporate the full costs, including development, marketing, booksellers' discounts etc.

However the main problem may be lack of sustainability. Once the initial funding has dried up, there is no money for reprinting or for modification of the curriculum or the materials. Because the Ministry has published the materials themselves for free distribution, copies are only available on the market illegally. Further, the capacity of central ministry departments to identify and meet actual school needs through central production and distribution, has been regularly called into question.

The alternative scenario is to retain curriculum development and evaluation functions within the education ministry, but utilise the private sector to develop, produce and sell the books, while at the same time decentralising the procurement of school books as close to school level as possible. Prevailing market rationale implies that the involvement of commercial publishers in a system of decentralised (school-level) purchases can result in materials that are more innovative, of better quality, and are cost-effective — unit prices may be higher, but schools (and individuals) will be able to buy the books they need, and will utilise them more effectively. Publishers' market research will ensure that books are published, not only for schools, but to meet the needs of all the reading public.

This is itself a mostly theoretical model which is difficult to substantiate, though, for example, guided re-introduction of the commercial sector into educational publishing in Tanzania has led to the development of new books (and sometimes new editions of old titles), which are clearly better in terms of physical quality (legible printing of text and illustrations, better bindings, etc.), and also better edited (fewer factual errors, etc.). However, it is almost certainly the case that a commercial publishing environment will result in a greater variety of reading materials for all readerships, at a range of prices.

Of course, the development of literacy alone is insufficient to ensure that books will be published even in a commercial publishing environment. Some languages have too few speakers — perhaps only 1,000 or 2,000 — to make publishing commercially viable without heavy subsidies. For school materials in such languages where sufficient priority is given, subsidies may come from government or other funding agencies. Even without such interventions, writing and reading can still take place, but with more modest publishing methods, such as photocopying or other duplication.

Publishing development and language policy

Figure 2 summarises factors influencing publishing development, and highlights those aspects where language policy and practice are relevant. Generalisation may be dangerous, but some patterns may be predicted (and observed). The most important factor is likely to be the sise of the potential readership — in turn this is determined by demographic, economic, and educational factors, with literacy levels in the language of publication being the most obvious, along with the spending power of individuals and schools. (UNESCO data shows better international correlation of GNP per capita than literacy levels with publishing activity, measured by titles published, or paper consumption.)

Figure 2: Factors affecting publishing development

	Factors	**Relevance of langauge issues**
Language policy	Official languages	Yes
	National languages	Yes
	International languages	Yes
Literacy levels in each language group	Adult literacy	Yes
	School literacy	Yes
	Functional literacy	Yes
	Literacy programs	Yes
Curriculum	Subjects	Yes
	Teaching methodologies	Yes
	Medium of instruction: primary, secondary, tertiary	Yes
Educational environment	Enrolments at each level	
	Educational materials policy	Yes
	Available educational materials budgets	
	Disbursement mechanisms	
	School library development	Yes
Size of market	Demographic features: (Population / language use etc.)	Yes
	Disposable income	
	'Reading culture'?	Yes
	Importance of market research	
Materials development capacity	Writers	Yes
	Translators	Yes
	Editors	Yes
	Illustrators	
	Designers	
Commercial capacity	Publishing	
	Printing	
	Marketing (promotion)	Yes
	Distribution	
	Selling	
Commercial environment	State / parastatal involvement	
	Degree of liberalisation of economy	
	Level of competition	
Legal environment	Censorship	Yes**
	Intellectual Property Rights (inc. copyright): legislation and protection	
Fiscal environment	Interest rates	
	Import duties on books, magazines; on production inputs (paper etc.)	
	Taxation	
Book sector environment	National Book Policy	Yes
	Book Development Council	
	Professional associations	

** For example, to prevent communist propaganda materials being imported into Indonesia, a decree was passed (and is still in place) banning the importation of all books written in Bahasa Indonesia and the closely related Bahasa Malaysia — the only exception is translations of the Koran.

International acceptance of the importance of initial learning in a child's first (or familiar) language has led to increasing demand for books and other materials in local, rather than international languages. Generally, publishing in local languages opens opportunities for publishers:

- to develop new titles, including educational books, literature, and books of regional relevance, making use of rich vernacular traditions;
- to translate and adapt books from one language to another; joint or multi-language editions are a possibility, especially for children's books, where several different language editions can be economically produced of the same story, printing full-colour artwork for all books simultaneously;
- to develop regional markets — a publisher may be able to find a 'niche market' in a particular language, minimising competition.

There are,however, the following constraints:

- Markets are likely to be smaller (in some cases extremely small), and difficult to access, causing higher unit costs for production and marketing, and potentially uneconomic development costs for textbooks.[1] Political decisions to balance materials provision for all language groups equally may be impractical commercially, thus subsidies will be needed.
- Literacy levels may be lower initially in small and previously neglected language groups.
- Purchasing power may also be lower in these groups which tend to be marginalised.
- Commissioning editors and copy-editors will be needed for each language
- Locating authors may be difficult, drawing on a smaller potential pool, but authors may be more enthusiastic, and possibly more prolific, when publishing in a particular language begins to take off.
- A monolingual language policy may open larger markets to publishers, meaning greater cost-efficiencies, but possibly also greater competition.

Figure 3, 'Language and publishing scenarios', presents some possible implications of the language environment for writing and publishing. Both authors and publishers should find more opportunities within a local language context, though with smaller financial gains on each title. Answering the question of what people want to read, and are prepared or can afford to buy, is the fundamental skill of the publisher.

Figure 3: Language and publishing scenarios

	Situation	Implications for authors	Publishing implications
1	Single international language in use (often non-mother tongue, as in many African countries)	Authors easily exposed to international sources and standards; most writing in second language	Large potential international market, strong competition from foreign publishers, including imported books; possible cultural inappropriateness in imported or translated materials
2	Single non-international language in use	Authors' exposure limited Large scope for new books	Large potential national market, relative lack of competition from, or investment by, foreign publishers
3	Diversified language use — national languages	Greater opportunities for self-expression in own languages; often limited (written) literary tradition	Smaller market for individual titles Editorial and marketing requirements more diverse
4	Diversified language use — national and international languages	Good cross-fertilisation of ideas between languages and cultures	Mixed situation Opportunities to adapt foreign language books for joint-language editions etc.

Supporting the development of a viable local publishing industry

The increasing emphasis on local languages, the need to ensure that materials are available, together with the common shortage of publishing capacity in local languages, suggests that both school-based and non-formal literacy programs should be accompanied by support to publishing development (along with other interventions, primarily teacher training, and library development). Books simply cannot be imported or translated into local languages for teaching literacy, or for primary education, where a strong rooting of the course work in the culture and language of the region or district is essential. A strong national publishing sector offers the best chance of ensuring suitable materials are made available. Furthermore, if books can be made available to schools through the commercial channels, they will also be available to the reading public; and if publishing educational books can be profitable, then the publisher may be encouraged to invest in the development and publishing of other titles to meet the needs of a more general readership.

In various countries an element of publishing development has been incorporated in educational materials projects. Outside the ministry context, small-scale publishing projects have also tried to help develop publishing capacity and improve the flow of books onto the markets, often targeting children's storybooks or other supplementary reading.

Because governments and donors have been reluctant to use public money to support private sector development, such support has often been targeted to develop publishing skills in Ministry departments (e.g. in Cambodia, Ethiopia, Zambia). This may be the only option in countries where there is effectively no existing publishing infrastructure, though transition to private sector publishing must follow, to avoid over-dependence on monolithic parastatals. Channelling support through industry and professional associations can be a way of supporting the private sector, without favouring specific companies. Perhaps as important is to ensure that funds are available for book purchases, preferably at school level, to develop bookselling capacity, and ultimately underwrite the publishing market — sales of educational books are the staple revenue of publishers everywhere.

A further channel for development can be through foreign investment. Competition from foreign publishers, even multinationals, need not always be seen as a threat to the growth of a national book sector, though both cultural and financial safeguards may be needed. Developing a publishing project (especially a new school course) is an expensive, and high-risk venture, offering only long-term returns. A new primary course for 6 or 7 grades of a single subject can cost as much as $100,000 to develop — with no guarantee of success if the books are not accepted by the Ministry, or adopted in the schools. Small national publishers trying to establish themselves can benefit from partnerships with multinational companies with greater financial and human resources — provided that the multinational is genuinely committed to support the development of the local company, to train local staff, and plough back most of the profits into the local company. This is a much more common scenario than it was 30 or 40 years ago.

Publishing and the book sector

The existence of adequate publishing capacity alone is probably not sufficient to ensure sustainability of materials provision to schools, nor of reading materials for adults or other literates. Figure 1 indicates the interconnectedness of publishing with literacy development. A further set of factors involves the commercial environment and the legal framework — both national and international.

Intellectual property rights, including copyright protection, must not only be legislated for, but enforced. Authors and publishers have a right to benefit from the commercial exploitation of their work, and both writing and publishing will soon wither if copyright ownership is flouted. Investors, including those in the book sector, will not invest if their products can be copied without penalty. The World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) can often provide support to the development of copyright legislation and measures for its implementation.

Other important fiscal conditions include the implementation of the Florence Agreement, which allows for the duty-free importation of raw materials for book production (of which paper is the most important). Often, paper imports are taxed, but finished books are not — which penalises local printing companies, and benefits foreign publishers at the expense of indigenous ones.

Generally cross-border trade restrictions can make it difficult to maximise market size for books in transnational languages. For Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, for example, there are substantial communities in each country speaking the language of a neighbouring country. Markets could be substantially increased if all the potential readership could be reached, including those in the wider international diaspora. Better international communications should make this more easily possible, as should the gradual abolition of trade restrictions. Lack of political recognition of such communities might need to be overcome, as well as the often low purchasing power of migrant workers or refugees. Whether there will be a net gain to smaller countries from the relaxation of international trade restrictions remains to be seen.

As the above discussion suggests, some of the elements of book sector development must involve other ministries than education, culture or community development. Publishing is a business, and commercial, financial and legal issues must be dealt with. One approach to tackling this has been UNESCO's focus on the development of National Book Policies, which can take a broader inter-ministerial approach. Book policy development needs to be supported by the establishment of a national Book Development Council, as a coordinating body for policy implementation measures.

Experience shows, however, that top-down policy-based initiatives are likely to be largely fruitless if they do not have a basis in (or complement) practical bottom-up developments. Lack of coordination and harmonisation of initiatives at different levels can lead to fragmentation, and lack of sustainability.

Conclusion: ensuring availability of books and reading materials

Publishing in local or national languages in any country requires a viable national publishing sector to ensure the continued availability of appropriate reading materials. To achieve this the following points should be considered in developing educational and literacy programs:

Publishers should be involved in the initial publication of reading materials for the classroom, as well as for non-formal/adult education classes.

Publishing rights for all reading materials should be given, or sold, to the publisher, who can publish additional copies for commercial sale. In this way books will continue to be available after the original funding has ceased.

Costings of materials in educational programs should include all elements, including development costs (payments to authors, illustrators, copyright fees), and not just production costs, so that later price comparisons with the publisher's market price are on an equal basis.

While a national local-language publishing sector develops, support should be given to:

- professional associations (writers', publishers' and booksellers' associations);
- training in publishing, marketing and bookselling skills;

- book policy development, the establishment of a national Book Development Council enforcement of copyright and other intellectual property rights;
- zero-rating for importation of paper and other printing inputs, and for sales tax on books.

Support to the book sector should be seen as a necessary corollary to efforts to improve literacy levels and encourage a reading culture

Notes

1. It is probably impossible to give general figures for what would be an acceptable sales level for a title. In Finland, for example, 2,000-3,000 copies can be a feasible sales target because the price can be set high enough to cover all costs ($20-$30 is often paid for a hardback novel); in Cambodia, the market and cost premises would be entirely different, but 2,000-3,000 copies may be feasible there, too, even at a tenth of the price level. It all depends on the development costs (including how much the author is paid), and the costs of production, and of financing the publication — and whether the mix of quality and price is right for the potential market.

Acknowledgement

There has been increasing discussion in international forums in recent years concerning the need to link educational programs and publishing and book sector development. This paper draws particularly on the collection of papers edited by Philip Altbach and Damtew Teferra (1999), Publishing in African Languages; on the World Bank's reader Educational Publishing in Global Perspective (edited by Sobhana Sosale 1999); and The Economics of Publishing Educational Materials in Africa (Walter Bgoya et al 1997), among other sources. This paper is not therefore advocating a new approach, but nevertheless an important one: language, literacy, reading materials and publishing go hand in hand, and ensuring sustainability necessitates working towards the development of all.

I would like to acknowledge also the contribution of my Opifer colleagues, Nigel Billany and Eero Syrjanen, in preparing this paper, though I can take full credit for its weaknesses.

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10 Gender, language and power in community based programs

Lilliana Hajncl & Barbara Fitzgerald

This paper discusses programs run by APHEDA — Union AID Abroad. As the ACTU's (Australian Council of Trade Unions) humanitarian aid agency, APHEDA expresses the Australian union movement's commitment to social justice and international solidarity for human rights and development through support to overseas education, training and development projects, working in partnership with those whose rights to development are restricted or denied. APHEDA's Cambodian program is based on a 10-year partnership between APHEDA, Union Aid Abroad, and local partners. Barbara Fitzgerald is the coordinator of that program in Phnom Penh.

The partnership in East Timor is much younger. This partnership involves AHPEDA — Union Aid Abroad, AMES Victoria (the largest English language and literacy provider in Australia), LAIFET (the Labour Advocacy body in East Timor), REDE Feto Timor Lorosa'e (the East Timorese Women's Network) and approximately seven other local NGO partners. Lilliana Hajncl worked with REDE late last year on a pilot program focussing on English language development in the context of women's leadership skills.

Please note this paper does not necessarily reflect the views of APHEDA, AMES or any of APHEDA's local partners in Cambodia or East Timor.

The East Timor program

The first section of the paper discusses the East Timor program, and begins by looking generally at the particular post-colonialist context of East Timor, then discussing the pilot program for women leaders, and finally reflecting a little about the role of English language programs generally in addressing issues of literacy, power, cohesion and community for the women of East Timor.

East Timor is one of the least developed countries in Southeast Asia, in terms of both economic and social indicators, after 450 years of neglect of infrastructure and development by the Portuguese, the Indonesian regime and as a direct result of the impact of the violence that followed the 1999 popular consultation.

Although many issues arise from the Indonesian occupation and its aftermath, East Timorese women have identified a focus on education and literacy, violence and

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social and political participation as priorities.

Illiteracy in East Timor is long standing and is estimated at 49% nationally with illiteracy rates much higher for women. Schooling hasn't been and still, on the whole, isn't free. Most educational investment is made in boys. Standards of teaching have been and still are low and learning is by rote. Higher education is even less accessible to most women in East Timor.

A central problem for the women of East Timor is violence, which is in part a legacy of the military occupation of East Timor. However, some aspects of Timorese culture have a role in the creation of values which tolerate this violence. In addition to this, men who have been tortured by the military forces are seen as heroes, whereas women who have been tortured — or raped — are ostracised and shunned, seen, in fact, as traitors.

Early in the struggle in the forest, women had an equal part in decision making. But as the struggle developed, different patterns emerged, with the women supporting the children and the home, thus allowing the men to continue more active resistance. In general, the men don't see the women as having played an active part in the struggle because they didn't carry guns in the jungle.

Unemployment is a huge issue in East Timor. The traditional lack of access to any, or higher, education has meant also that where men and women are competing for jobs, the women are being displaced, even though they may have performed that job prior to the ballot. Large employers, like the Civil Service, are English dependent and so prefer educated men to women.

In East Timor's case however, these issues of marginalisation, of violence against women, of lack of access to education and participation, play against the massive pressures involved in building a new democracy from such a ravaged base.

Women's organisations are striving to make a difference. Apart from providing counselling and documenting human rights abuses, they are pressing for women's rights to be enshrined in East Timor's new constitution. To avoid setting a pattern for continuing the past, where women and women's groups have been excluded to varying degrees from decision-making structures, and where women have been under-represented in decision-making and consultative bodies, they also want involvement in drawing up that constitution.

In the new East Timor, women will need access to information about services, the law and their rights. This will happen partly through education; and there is pressure to include women's rights in the school curriculum.

REDE Feto Timor Lorosa'e or the Network of East Timorese Women is a new coalition, formed at a women's congress in May 2000. It aims to be an inclusive forum of many organisations, and a dynamic and strategic network that can act as a women's watchdog, outside of government after UNTAET leaves. In working to get a profile for women in the new era, REDE has identified training needs for women in districts as well as in Dili, that include language, literacy, and leadership.

Language and power in East Timor

Language and language policy issues are particularly complex in ET. There are 15 indigenous languages and 35 dialects. Portuguese was chosen as the official language, but it is estimated that only somewhere between 10 and 20% of East Timorese speak it fluently. The public use of Portuguese was banned during the Indonesian occupation so those who went to school over the last 25 years have been instructed in, and speak, Bahasa Indonesia. At least half the East Timorese can speak Bahasa Indonesia. Some 60% are estimated to speak Tetum, one of the indigenous languages. Portuguese is the official language and the language of older leaders and established groups, Bahasa Indonesia and Tetum are the common languages and the languages used by emerging youth leaders, but the machinery of power is English dependent. There is growing frustration within the leadership of REDE at the perception that women who remained in East Timor throughout the struggle and who therefore lack English skills receive different treatment from UNTAET officials than do their returning compatriots who have learned English and western social intercourse in their exile.

Pilot program

It was against this background that a pilot project based in Dili was proposed. The objectives were threefold:

- to increase the English language capacity of East Timorese women leaders to assist in the networking of women leaders;
- to increase the capacity of East Timorese women to take part in decision-making processes and national debates;
- to provide a forum where women could meet together to strengthen the REDE ties.

The program was also to be a vehicle for discussion of issues, such as the promotion of women as equal partners in the sustainable development of their society; the strengthening of the security of the individual, specifically women and children, and the enhancement of the role of civil society including sustained and equitable growth, small business opportunities and income generation; women's participation in the democratic and election processes; and the development of women's capacity to participate at every level.

As with most pilot projects, what is envisaged and what eventuates are often wildly divergent. The original notion of one central program conducted in central Dili and bringing together several organisations was undermined by the realities of life in East Timor.

In particular three factors were most significant. These were:

- *The youth of REDE as an organisation*

Member organisations are in the process of resolving how to retain their individual identities and purpose and still work effectively together. The lack of infrastructure in REDE meant a lack of strong networks that could facilitate a coordinated approach to recruitment.

- *The general level of chaos in East Timor*
  Logistics, prohibitive costs and women's limited access to infrastructure worked against the original notion of one central class.
- *The differing goals of the learners and the conflicting demands of domestic, organisational and family duties, income generation and personal development*
  These factors led to the formation of several regional classes for individual organisations. These classes developed different profiles and directions. I want to look at three of these classes.

What evolved in each grouping highlights some of the dilemmas in English language programs in a development context.

The first group is the GFFTL (Grupo Feto Foinsa'e Timor Lorosa'e). This is a group of young women who had been studying at the University of East Timor in Dili, before the 1999 ballot, and who set a program to teach very basic literacy in the districts around Dili (in the predominant language/dialect of each district), in order to empower people to participate effectively in the referendum. They still manage their expanded literacy training program, substantially supported by APHEDA. Their program offers both the opportunity to engage in learning and a forum to discuss core issues of human rights and democratic process.

In addition, GFFTL has, during the recent pre-election period, undertaken constitutional and voter education classes. GFFTL have also undertaken to help manage a Vocational Training and Support Centre known as Knua Buka Hatene ('a gathering place for community learning'), a key element in APHEDA's new program, funded by AusAid, that will build on pilot activities undertaken over the last 19 months.

The women of GFFTL are very much young women leaders, very motivated and self directed, and overburdened by the varied demands on them. They took up the English class in the pilot program for their own self-development, and because they saw there might be a future use for English language training among their community program members. Their pre-existing level of English allowed for some limited discussion of relevant issues, but their multiple responsibilities made for an interrupted program. They were passionate but preoccupied.

The second group emerged around ETWAVE (East Timorese Women Against Violence). This group had affiliations with OPMT (the Fretilin women's organisation). Its stated focus was on domestic violence and for the rights of women and children. The group's other focus was running a successful restaurant in a very pleasant compound. The ETWAVE class had a small but changing population of men, women and children, who came to the class through their contact with the director of the organisation. The attendees did not have very clearly defined learning goals, and responsibilities attached to the restaurant took precedence over the class.

The third group was made up of members of OPMT in the village setting of the Comoro district near Dili. The group, strongly connected with the political party, had its focus on local issues. This group, too, chose to include men in their classes. The class was large, young and enthusiastic, and their varied English language levels and learning goals determined the direction of the class. Appropriate methodology included games, grammar and personal stories, rather than discussion. The pre-existing strict hierarchy of responsibility relegated some potential leaders to ranks. Few of the women were in positions of power even in the local community.

From the point of view of an English language training facilitator, three main issues arose during this pilot program. The first of these is the issue of united programs — the timeliness or even the appropriacy of the united or central program as originally envisaged by REDE. What is the role of the facilitator in this situation? Is it to follow the project brief and attempt to bring together disparate organisations? Or is it to accept that there are substantial divisions between these groups which it is not the facilitator's role to change?

The second was the issue of leadership development for women in the face of the reality of women's lives in East Timor. The women, often widows with families, did not have the time nor the economic resources to devote to issues of leadership — their priority is the survival / prosperity of their families. And what about the leadership model which pre-supposes English language skills to be a priority? Is it timely given the difficulty of life in East Timor at present?

And the third issue concerns the 'women-only' development model on which this project was built. The majority of the groups taught did not see this as significant and were happy to have men in their classes. Others were clearly opposed to this on principle. What is the role of the facilitator in this situation? To press ahead with the project brief irrespective of the views of the participants, or to follow their wishes in this issue?

Finally, it is important to emphasise that there were very positive outcomes and learning for both East Timorese participants and for AMES Victoria from this project. For example, for the GFFTL there came a clear identification of their directions in the development of first language literacy, and the roles that they wished external agencies to play in this. OPMT also looked at their program planning, with a view to extending their evidence gathering work in the east of the island to include community classes around language and literacy.

There is a clear need for education and training in the non-formal sector. The GFFTL women, in particular, are in an excellent position to address this. Whilst studying in the formal sector themselves, they have gained an understanding of how to engage those Timorese, who have little or no formal education, in developing literacy skills.

They have developed a model of very localised classes in informal settings, embedding literacy learning in meaningful contexts that come out of the learners' experiences. They are also training local facilitators to take on the teaching processes.

This model is in its very early stages, but has the potential to have a large impact. It is an area where AMES, as an organisation with experience in the formal and non-formal sectors in Australia, can share its expertise in working on methodology and materials.

And for AMES, there were at least three significant learnings. Firstly, it reinforced our understandings of the nature of time in projects such as this — that is, that they should progress in the participants' time not the facilitators'.

Secondly, it has become clear that in a country with so little central infrastructure, local and not centralised responses are the most appropriate and the most successful. There is also sufficient evidence to confirm that the next stages of the project are the appropriate directions, and warrant the investment of resources that can contribute to a cohesive approach managed by local partners.

And finally, it confirmed our direction to match programs to the real needs of people, and that means significant investment in research, in people and in time to make sure that can happen.

The Cambodia program

This section of the paper draws on APHEDA's ten years of experience working in education and empowerment programs for women, in partnership with six Cambodian women's agencies, in four provinces and Phnom Penh, and with four trade union federations representing women garment industry workers.

Four of the women's agencies are women in development centres — in Kampot, Battambang, Kampong Cham and Preah Vihear provinces. The women in development centres are grassroots agencies of the Ministry of Women's and Veterans' Affairs. The two NGOs are Cambodian Women's Development Association and Cambodian Women for Peace and Development. One of the union federations represents garment and footwear workers exclusively, the other three represent workers in various industries, as well as garment and footwear. The garment industry is by far the most significant industry in Cambodia at the present time, and garment workers are predominantly women.

APHEDA does not work exclusively with women's agencies in Cambodia. It works also with provincial education, industry and agriculture departments in training programs which also target men, such as domestic fish farming for sustainable livelihood.

Vocational training

This paper, which addresses issues of gender, language and power, concentrates on the vocational training and outreach programs which operate in partnership with the six women's agencies, and the empowerment of women workers programs in co-operation with the four union federations.

The programs are of three types — vocational education and training for poor rural women concentrating on village income generation skills; vocational education and training for poor urban women concentrating on employment skills in areas such as hospitality and office skills; and peer education outreach programs in reproductive health, STD/HIV/AIDS, gender and labour rights for village women, sex workers, and garment workers. In all three cases, training of trainer programs is an essential component, and APHEDA assists by providing Australian technical assistants/trainers for this component. The vocational training programs include components on STD/HIV/AIDS, gender and life skills.

The vocational training and STD/HIV/AIDS programs have received very significant NGO funding assistance from AusAID (the Australian government's Agency for International Development) during the 10 years of their operation, and donations from APHEDA's trade union membership. The reproductive health and empowerment of women workers programs were part of a two and a half year project funded by JICA (the Japanese government's International Cooperation Agency), with some funding assistance from Australian trade unions for the women workers segment.

Many of the programs have operated since the early 90s, which means throughout the very tense and dangerous years of the early and mid to late nineties, when Khmer Rouge forces were still very active in many parts of the country, security could by no means be guaranteed, and every precaution had to be taken both by partners and APHEDA when undertaking project travel. Despite the enormous difficulties posed by this situation, the provincial women's agencies worked hard to establish and develop their programs because of their very genuine desire to help poor women to improve their lives.

Literacy program

Although Cambodia has now achieved peace, the legacy of the almost three decades of severe civil strife is a poorly educated and unskilled population. Cambodia remains one of the poorest countries in Asia, and the UNDP-World Bank

Cambodia Poverty Assessment report of December 1999 claims that 'poor education is both a cause and a result of persistent poverty'. Women are particularly disadvantaged educationally, with significantly lower average years of schooling than men. The consequence of the gender disparity in educational opportunity is that women have much higher rates of illiteracy. The literacy survey conducted by the Ministry of Education Youth and Sport and UNESCO in 1999 showed 63% of the population of 11.4 million to be illiterate or semi-literate. 47.6% of men were found to be literate and only 22% of women. This disparity between men and women is not surprising, as average years of schooling for males over 15 ranges from 3.5 for the poorest 20% to 6.2 for the richest; for females the figures are 2.1 and 4.1 years.

The fact of the significantly lower education and literacy rates among women is clearly a gender issue. Boys are given preference over girls in educational opportunity. The belief is still widely held, especially in rural areas, that education is not important for girls, who are expected to stay at home and help with childrearing, domestic and agricultural work. In fact it is still often said that education can be dangerous for girls, as literate girls can write notes to boyfriends, and educated girls can be generally more difficult to manage.

Because of the very high illiteracy rates and low education levels among women, especially in the rural areas where over 85 % of the population lives, language is a central issue in programs of empowerment and vocational education.

Where rural women are able to come to one of the local vocational training centres in one of the APHEDA/partner programs, they are able to learn a vocational skill such as textiles & design, hairdressing & wedding outfitting, or silk cotton or mat weaving, and at the same time follow a literacy program. Many achieve basic functional literacy in this way. The rural training programs which are normally of six months duration also include components on STD/HIV/AIDS, gender and life skills.

For the many women who are not able to attend such long-term training programs, the issue of literacy is much more difficult. Many women do not have time to train or study due to their childrearing, domestic, and agricultural responsibilities. National literacy programs have operated in Cambodia for many years. For busy adults it is very often difficult or impossible, however, to devote the time necessary to regularly attend classes in the village. Motivation is lacking also, as poor people struggling for a sustainable livelihood often cannot see how literacy is going to improve their ability to support their families. Shame is also an important factor, and adults who are illiterate often are reticent to draw attention to what to them is a source of embarrassment.

Rural women do want to know about reproductive health, and especially HIV/AIDS as the epidemic in Cambodia has now spread to even the most remote areas. They want to know about gender and their right to live free of violence. Lack of education and literacy, however, cause low self-esteem, and lack of opportunity to access information for empowerment. The needs of the women cannot wait for the time in the future when plans for 'education for all' have become a reality, so strategies are needed in the short term to enable illiterate and semi-literate women to access information which is vital to their wellbeing.

Outreach programs

Women's agencies have found that outreach information programs specifically designed for people with little or no literacy are an effective way of helping educationally marginalised women to access information which they need to help them to act on their own situations. Such programs have proved very effective in areas such as reproductive health, STD/HIV/AIDS, gender and rights. The language of this type of outreach program is the spoken language, and graphics. Well-designed IEC (information, education, communication) material, such as leaflets, posters, billboards and t-shirts, can convey many messages through pictures and diagrams only. A small amount of text is sometimes included and this can be explained through the outreach program. As the IEC material is intended not only for those whom the outreach educator comes in contact with, but for the whole community, the material needs to be very explicit, even if this means causing some embarrassment. For example, there is no point in informing people that condoms prevent AIDS transmission if they don't know what a condom is, or how it is used.

The outreach programs are peer education programs, with trained village women volunteers acting as the outreach educators. The programs are non-threatening for the local women for this reason. The time issue can be resolved in the village, and times can be found for outreach sessions when women are not busy in the fields or with other work. The plenary poster session of the conference will demonstrate the use of IEC for outreach information programs. APHEDA and its partners have found this outreach and IEC model very successful in rural areas. It was also very successful in the project of STD/HIV/AIDS awareness for sex workers, most of whom were illiterate or semi-literate, which the partners and APHEDA implemented in the mid-90s.

English language programs

English language is also an important issue in gender equality in Cambodia. It is generally accepted that English is the most important foreign language, and that becoming proficient in English can lead to opportunities for better employment, and also further study. To promote poor women, the vocational training programs run by APHEDA's partners in urban areas provide six months of preparatory English, followed by six-month employment courses in hospitality and office skills, which include both general and specific purpose English, and a one-month work experience placement. The courses are organised on a less than full-time basis to allow trainees time for their income earning responsibilities in the family, and include components on STD/HIV/AIDS, gender and labour rights. These urban vocational training programs have been very successful in terms of employment outcomes, and thus also in terms of empowering poor women.

Garment industry workers, about 170,000 in total, are chosen from a very large pool of young rural women who are unable to find any employment or income earning activity in their villages, and so migrate to the city for the jobs in the many factories that have been established in the last five years. The percentage of illiterate garment workers is quite low, perhaps 3%, as employers choose those with some education and literacy. Education and literacy levels are generally basic, however, and most struggle to come to terms with a situation totally different from the village life they have left. Concepts such as 'normal time', 'overtime', 'workers rights', 'maternity leave provisions', 'labour law', 'unions' are new and difficult. For garment workers time is also a very limiting factor. They are free only on Sundays, and that is only when they are not obliged to do overtime. The Labour Seminars: Empowerment of Women Workers program, which APHEDA and the four union federations implemented had to organise all seminars for workers on Sundays, as it is almost impossible for workers to get leave for training during the six-day work week. APHEDA and the federations have done research on the danger of exposure to HIV infection among garment workers, and we are planning a project on

HIV, gender and rights for garment workers. The design of this project also has to address time and availability limitations for the workers.

Women in Cambodia make a major contribution to the economy. A look around Phnom Penh or any other area in Cambodia makes it clear that it is predominantly women who run the markets, street stalls and restaurants. It is generally acknowledged that women do well over 50% of agricultural work. Where industry is concerned, the garment industry is by far the biggest income earner for Cambodia today, and it is predominantly the labour of women that is earning that income.

When it comes to the civil service and government however, women's representation is very low, and as is clear from the statistics, women are well behind in educational opportunities. Clearly, gender and empowerment are major issues for women in Cambodia today.

Lessons learned by APHEDA and its partners are that women are very keen to empower themselves through education and training. If programs are carefully planned, taking the lead from the local partner agencies and their communities, and constraints such as time and availability are properly addressed, the activities will be very successful. Programs have to be adapted and developed as circumstances change or new possibilities arise. Future plans for APHEDA and its partners include further development of empowerment programs, including methodologies for dealing with literacy issues, and also further development of English language opportunities for partner agency personnel and garment worker representatives, to assist them in their ability to make international contacts and participate in international forums.

11 Language in development: the Open Society Institute

Robert Hausmann

This paper analyses the Eastern European Bilingual School system and English language programs developed with support of the Open Society Institute (Soros Foundations). Using the concrete and positive results from these programs, the paper argues that developing countries should consider instituting four language teaching support programs:

1. A bilingual school programs;
2. The free exchange of information;
3. English language teaching and teacher training fellowships; and
4. Independent, private language schools.

The paper concludes that the successful teaching of international languages should be a high priority for countries looking for ways to aid economic development.

In the fall of 1988, before the barbed wire between Western and Eastern Europe came down, my family and I went to Hungary, I as a Fulbright professor assigned as academic advisor to the foreign language division of the Orszagos Pedagogiai Intezet (the National Pedagogical Institute), they along for what we anticipated would be a wild, foreign ride in the land of the Red Menace. Like most westerners, we had a little knowledge of the language and the culture; I knew that the language was non-IndoEuropean, was agglutinative, and had fascinating vowel harmony rules (with exceptions that I still don't believe in). US propaganda had convinced most of us who had never been there that all of those countries behind the Iron Curtain — with the exception of the former Yugoslavia — were the same:

1) if only because they were so isolated, the people were unenlightened and unsophisticated;

2) if only because they were under the firm heel of the Russian boot, they were intimidated and cowed;

3) if only because they feared both the west and the Russian soldiers that occupied their country, they were incapable of much self-determination, were victims of the repressive regime they lived in, and would see us as exotics from whom they had much to learn about the world.

Surprise. Yes, the language bore no resemblance to any language I knew — no cognates to help me through the streets (*alma* means *apple*, more closely related to Turkish than to anything in Latin or Russian). But the personal and professional power and the intellectual independence of the people was readily apparent. Certainly I found the functional failures of the Communist bureaucracy maddening. Just trying to register a car purchased outside of the country, or getting permission to buy a shotgun, or securing permission to use, tax-free, your own laptop computer; all of these chores took several weeks of dashing around and line-standing (the shotgun buying plan had to be abandoned), all of this with a native speaker running interference. But the academics I met were well-trained, comparatively well-traveled, had developed many good working relationships with western scholars, and lived an academic life that was civil servant level work in pay, to be sure, but also essentially independent of the political system in which these scholars were working.

Certainly communism had caused isolationism, and isolation had succeeded in making the countries look economically more like third-world countries than their other European neighbors to the west. And almost everyone was afraid of the absolute power of the police, which Hungarians dealt with by telling stupid policeman jokes (Question: 'How do you find the stupidest policeman from a group of 100 policeman.' Answer: 'Random selection'). You could not buy bananas (my son was swarmed with inquiries when he sat outside of the American Embassy, after a trip we made to Austria, eating a banana with his lunch), and the waiting list for a Russian-built Lada was as much as ten years (half of the purchase price down as a deposit when you put your name on the waiting list). There was little upward mobility or hope for a different life.

But for all of these privations (and with the benefit of post-1989 hindsight), the day-to-day life of everyone was pretty much independent of the communist political system. My revisionist position now is that life in Communist Hungary was structurally similar to life in any stable political system; the citisens try to ignore (and, when they can't, tolerate) the ways that the government inconveniences their lives, and the government tries to ignore and tolerate the ways of the citisens. What quickly became apparent was that the educational system was one of the institutions that was functionally independent. Yes, there was a Communist Party High School giving privilege to Party members, certainly some students found it easier to enter the university than others based on qualifications other than academics, but, in Hungary at least, hardworking and clever children of non-Party members could enter the best of the high schools and universities. As a consequence, the Communist educational system was still turning gifted students into well-educated young people.

Bilingual schools

Nowhere was the educational system more obviously successful than at the bilingual schools I visited in the fall of 1988. Hungary had bilingual English, German, French, and Russian schools. The total number at the time was something close to 10 with the

English and German bilingual schools in dominance (one English school in Budapest, one in Szeged, one in Debrecen, and one in Balatonfüred).

These schools are interesting in several ways. First off, entrance to the schools is very competitive and is based, primarily, on aptitude and achievement. There is an oral interview, and so that can make the results a little more subjective, although a group of three evaluators interview the applicants. Something like one student in ten is admitted. Students tend to go to the schools in their region so that they can live at home and then commute, but most of the schools also have dormitory living so that students who live far from the school can attend.

The schools are *five*-year, not *four*-year schools. During the first year, called the Zero Year, students are taught the foreign language only. At the end of this Zero Year of intensive language instruction, the students are able to study in the second language.

During the following four years, students take something like half of their subjects in Hungarian and then the other half in the target language. For example, students study biology and chemistry in English, literature and history in Hungarian; mathematics is typically taught in the foreign language and physics may be taught in Hungarian.

The teachers are trained not just in their subject areas, but in teaching the subject area in the foreign language. Students are required to take some instruction in a second foreign language. When the students finish their five year program, not only have they completed the national curriculum required for entrance to Hungary's universities, but the students may also qualify for the International Baccalaureate (a couple of years ago, students from Karinthy Frigyes Gimnázium [http://www.karinthy.hu/pages/open/en/] scored, on average, the highest scores of any secondary school in Western or Eastern Europe on the International Baccalaureate examinations).

The structure seems right — almost ideal — doesn't it? The design includes a good number of the features we have come to expect in successful language programs (and almost never see in practice).

First, they only teach to accomplished, proven learners. Second, through the prestige and educational advantage that accrues from going to such a school, they have well-motivated students who work hard. Third, the school puts exclusive focus on language during the first year rather than diffuse student attention among four or five subjects (as we do, at least, in the States). Fourth, students are put in content classes where the medium is the language and the content is something else they need to know — chemistry, say, or geography, or earth sciences. Focussing on content, the students learn the language obliquely, almost as children do, rather than through direct instruction. And fifth, and most importantly, the students *all* learn the language of the school. By the time they leave the school, they are fully, functionally bilingual with academic language skills adequate for university-level course work in any university that uses that language as the medium of instruction.

Recommendation 1: Create bilingual schools

Rather than develop a school system like the US and Japan have done where everyone must study a foreign language and no one actually learns the language, developing countries should offer specialised bilingual school education on a competitive basis to the best of their students. Yes, this is an American making this assertion. Let me expand on it. As noble an educational philosophy as educational egalitarianism is, were I designing an education system for a developing country, I would not stretch what limited resources I had to teach everyone a little with the result that no one knows a lot. In most schools with universal language instruction, the money is so broadly distributed that the ostensible purpose of the expenditures — language learning — is not met; the instruction is so watered down that few students get enough instruction to learn the second language. Using the model of the Bilingual High Schools of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania, I submit that developing nations will sooner meet their development goals if they create a comparatively small group of citisens who are fully functional in a second language. From this group, the country will draw its international business leaders, its governmental and non-governmental administrators, and its medical, legal, engineering, and educational professionals. As heretical as this may sound coming from an academic who believes in universal education and equal educational opportunity, I think it is better to train some of the people well and others badly than all of the people badly.

Open and free exchange of information

Because my Fulbright Professor status and my position as academic advisor to the National Pedagogical Institute gave me immediate entre into the academic world in Hungary, within the first 10 days I was there, I gave talks on electronic dictionaries at the Budalex Conference on Lexicography and had two invitations to speak at universities in Debrecen and Pecs. During the first semester, I gave talks at two conferences and lectures at five universities — and could have given more. At the Pedagogical Institute, I got to help design a new English examination for the national testing centre, and, through my colleagues there, I was invited to visit three bilingual schools, two in English and one in German.

While at these schools, I spent a good bit of time in some departmental seminar/staff room or in meetings or waiting for someone to appear. I was surprised by the departmental library, for they had *complete* sets of *all* of the linguistics and TESOL texts that both Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press published, this on top of publications from other European publishing houses. And every language and linguistics department, no matter how small, had a state-of-the-art Xerox machine, and at least one departmental computer. On every machine and in almost every book was a curious sticker: 'Donated by the Soros Foundation Hungary.'

I started inquiring and found only a little about this man named Soros: he was Hungarian by birth, had immigrated to England and then the US, and he had a lot of money and gave a lot of it to universities so that they could buy office equipment and books. Two or three professors said that his foundation in Hungary had paid their traveling expenses to give papers at academic conferences in the west. Like my colleagues, I only know what I saw from my narrow view; for the entire time I was in Hungary, I assumed that Soros only made donations to Hungarian schools and scholars.

Today, most people know much more about George Soros than I was told by his erstwhile countrymen. They know that he is a Jew whose family hid him under a false identity during World War II and then fled Hungary after the war. He immigrated to England where he studied at the London School of Economics. They know that he came to the United States and started several enormously prosperous investment firms. The most often told fact about him surrounds his prowess in the financial markets. If you had invested $1000 with him in 1969 and let it ride, the story is oft told, your $1000 investment would be worth more than $4,000,000 now, only 32 years later.

And people know that through his investment funds (the Quantum Fund, among others), he is a currency trader, and that he and his investment team make a lot of money guessing how various national currencies will go up or down in value in relationship to each other. Here, too, there is an emblematic fact. In September 1992, England was trying to decide whether to join the European Community's efforts to unify their members' currencies. Soros predicted that England would not do so and that the pound, as a direct consequence, would lose some of its value on international markets. As a consequence of his speculation, Soros, it is said, made, in a single day, between $1.1 and $2 billion. Not even Bank of England reserves and its massive pound buying strategy could head off the fall. Through all of the fascination that has surrounded this day for the past eight or nine years, Soros has downplayed the significance of that moment. In a public television interview a couple of years ago, for example, Soros commented the day he 'broke the Bank of England' by saying that, yes, he had made a lot of money in one day, but that no one notices times when he has*lost* $800 million in a single day. And, on another television interview, he remarked that few people knew that he risked a lot that day in September of 1992. He said he had borrowed more than $850 million to buy those pound futures.[1]

His success in the international currency and investment markets has made him incredibly influential. It is often said that he can cause a nation's currency to rise or fall just on the basis of his making a public statement of one kind or another. In this regard, people seem to have a strong opinion about him in this part of the world. He is said to be the cause of most of the economic woes of Malaysia and Indonesia and Mexico.[2] Soros was personally attacked as being responsible for the financial crash of many Asian currencies. In a Reuter wire story published in The Financial Times, July 27, 1997, Malaysian prime minister 'Mahatir Mohammad on Saturday named US-based financier George Soros as the man responsible for the current attack on the Malaysian ringgit currency.' In reference to a news conference he had given the day before accusing foreign investors for Malaysia's economic woes, he is quoted as saying, 'Today, I am confirming that George Soros is the man I was talking about.'

I mention Soros' investment policies and the world's reaction not because I think that they are particularly relevant to this conference, although they certainly are related to economic development in general since purchasing power on the world market is so crucial for developing countries. A rise or drop in the exchange rate affects international trade, balance of payments, and general economic mobility and stability. I mention Soros' reputation as an investor because I would like to set Soros the philanthropist aside from Soros the entrepreneur. Soros the entrepreneur may have hurt developing nations just as his investments hurt England when he bet that the pound would devalue (and helped that devaluation along by selling it short). But Soros the philanthropist, and the strategies he used to distribute his wealth, relate directly to language teaching and are very relevant to the economic development than can accrue through knowledge of international languages.

You can get a first sense of what the man was doing when you think about giving academics books and Xerox machines. Books don't work and Xerox machines don't work, at least by themselves; they are only a means to an end. What Soros did by giving academic departments these tools was invest in what the country had going for itself already: very well-trained, hard-working teachers who were respected professionals and were part of a strong school system. Because these teachers were starved for tools to make their teaching more effective, books and Xerox machines meant that they could learn new things from their colleagues in the west, could develop their own teaching materials, and could convey to their students a sense of the expanding world that knowledge of a second language can provide.

And schools seem a wise place to effect change for another reason. If you want to change the way that people behave, you have to catch them before their habits are ingrained. The young are omnivores for new ideas; the old eat the pre-masticated food of their pasts. Almost all religions, for example, teach the young the values and traditions of their sects–sometimes with and sometimes without permission of their parents. The communists knew that (think of Pioneer Leagues and Cultural Revolutions). And in a generation, the American schools taught our current generation of baby boomers not to litter and not to smoke, this when their parents were still throwing empty cigarette packs out the car window.

I haven't time here to lay out all of the ways that Soros made his millions available to open communication (hence his borrowing of Prop's term 'Open Society') in Eastern and Central European countries and, now, former countries of the former USSR and Yugoslavia, but some of them are directly connected to language and economic development in ways that I will explain later on in this paper.

Besides books and Xerox machines and computers, he paid for university professors to attend international conferences to present papers and listen to reports given by colleagues (I never met a single university professor in Hungary who had not received, at one time or another, a Soros grant); media hardware for independent news media development, including broadcast facilities and printing presses; once the Wall came down, he provided grants to local academics who completely re-wrote much of the

various countries' school curricula by stripping from the texts all of the socialist propaganda that was rife throughout such texts in the past.
The OSI-Budapest website lists the following projects:

- the Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute, which supports the legal reform efforts of the national foundations and their affiliated law centres;
- the Institute for Educational Policy, which aims to help the national foundations maximise the impact of their programs in primary and secondary education;
- the Higher Education Support Program, which promotes the advancement of higher education throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union;
- the Library Program, which aims to increase the open access to information through training for librarians and support for individual library projects;
- the Media Program, which acts as a consultant for the national foundations as well as other network entities and international organisations working on media-related projects;
- the Publishing Center, which supports both the publication of books which promote the values of open society and the development of the publishing industry in the region as a whole;
- the Scholarship Programs (also based in New York) which provide academic exchange opportunities for students, scholars, and professionals from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Mongolia, and Burma; and
- the Open Society Archives, which provide archival research facilities focussing on communism, human rights, and the Cold War, records-management services to the network, and information and training support to the archives and archivists of the region (see the OSI web-page at http://www.soros.org/osi.html).

I have not begun to touch the other humanitarian activities Soros supports–human rights issues, including minority rights and women's reproductive rights projects, projects such as the following:

- children and youth programs, which provide young people with a variety of opportunities and resources;
- the Economic and Business Development Program, which assists small-business entrepreneurs;
- the Internet Program, which supports projects that develop email and Internet services;
- the Public Health Programs, which help improve health care in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union;
- the Scholarship Programs, which provide academic exchange opportunities for students, scholars, and professionals from Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Mongolia, and Burma (again, see the OSI-NY web-page http://www.soros.org/osi.html).

And I have left out the drug legalisation programs in the US, as well as prisoners' rights programs, including efforts to repeal the US death penalty laws, as well as death-and-dying funding for hospice and other end-of-life projects. Pick a humanitarian or citisen rights issue, and Soros or Soros money is likely to be behind it.

So what does all of this add up to? No small thing. Almost certainly, George Soros — perhaps in absolute terms, but certainly comparatively with respect to his net worth — has given away more personal money in support of philanthropic causes (something around $500,000,000 a year for the past 15 years, from the last figures I have seen) than any person in the history of mankind. And for the most part, Soros' largesse is philanthropy with an agenda. The functional purpose that seems to underlie all of his philanthropy is promotion of the free and open exchange of information. Whether his foundations are giving travel money to academics, grants to universities to buy books, funds to secondary schools to buy computers and Internet access, cash backing for independent media projects to produce non-government controlled news reporting, small cash advances to scholars to re-write textbooks, loans to small business enterprises, or financial support to whatever, Soros is underwriting the free exchange of ideas.

All of this leads to my second suggestion.

Recommendation 2: Support the free exchange of information

Practically speaking, supporting the free exchange of information means two things:

- getting out of the citisenry's way; and
- developing government and non-government projects whereby people can visit — either physically or virtually — parts of the world that had been unavailable to them earlier, either because of limited personal resources or lack of governmental support projects.

Let me explain what I mean about getting out of the citisens' way. November 7, 1988 I was teaching under that Fulbright in Hungary. November 7th was a Monday, as I recall, and it was a Hungarian holiday in celebration of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution. I decided to visit friends at the University of Vienna. Unbeknownst to me, it was also the first weekend that Hungarians could exchange their Hungarian currency at banks and the border for international currency, without a formal explanation to the government. Before November of 1988, they could change $50 worth of Hungarian forints only if they had a serious purpose, official business. Now they could change $150 without explanation. With the long weekend and money to spend, 100,000 of them left that day for Vienna, so eager were they to have western goods. I sat in a queue 10 kilometres long waiting, Monday night, to re-cross the border. The Hungarians had their Ladas and Skodas and Trabants piled high with goods that were previously unavailable to them.

Within months (and despite the huge tax they were required to pay for importing them), every academic I knew had a personal computer more powerful and with more memory than my new Toshiba 1200, a laptop with 20megs of memory. As I recall my machine cost something like $2000. The Hungarians were buying such computers when their monthly academic salary was less than $200.

While certainly US citisens have more disposable income than citisens in the developed world, no government pressure, no school pressure, with no reason except the power of information, look at the changes in US computer ownership in the past six years:

- in 1995, 27% of US households owned a PC (Dataquest, Feb 1999);
- in 1996, 36% of US households owned a PC (Dataquest, Feb 1999);
- in 1997, 43% of US households owned a PC (Dataquest, Feb 1999);
- in 1998, 50% of US households owned a PC (Dataquest, Feb 1999);
- in 1999,63% of US households owned a PC (U.S. News & World Report 1999);
- ratio of male to female computer users over the age of 18:

  1996 — 82:12
  1999 — 50:50.

Source: Media Metrix-1999

In the US, the children are teaching their parents not to smoke. In the US, the children are teaching their parents how to use computers and the Internet. The schools themselves, through their local school boards, have taken a lead here — and virtually every US school is Internet connected. Because the federal government in the US does not have much influence on local school curriculum or funding, this development of Internet capacity has been a grass-roots, bottom up movement. Because teachers encourage children to use computers in their homework, because almost every school has a computer lab, because good computers have plummeted in price, and because the government and the media have stressed the importance of young people being computer literate, almost all children under the age of 16 know how to use computers.

While the largest force to open societies is the will of the average citisen to know more and to have more opportunity in the future — both for themselves and their children — governments can create the climate that makes open societies possible. Indeed, Soros himself said, early on in his philanthropic efforts, that he was interested in partnering with governments in a collective venture to help stabilise the newly independent states. Despite George Bush Senior's sending the Peace Corps to Eastern Europe, the United States Information Agency emphasising countries from the region, and the Fulbright Commission increasing its exchange of scholars, I am sure that Mr. Soros would say that the US has not done enough. Indeed, after he lost $300,000,000 in Russia, he chastised the American and British governments for their failure to respond with enough aid to prevent the collapse of the reformation. In a New York Review of Books article entitled 'Who Lost Russia'(April 13, 2000), Soros wrote,

State	Amt	State	Amt.
Utah	66.1%	Wisconsin	50.9%
Alaska	64.8%	S. Dakota	50.4%
New Hampshire	63.7%	Illinois	50.2%
Colorado	62.6%	Florida	50.1%
Oregon	61.6%	Ohio	49.5%
Washington	60.7%	Indiana	48.8%
Connecticut	60.4%	Nevada	48.8%
Delaware	58.6%	New York	48.7%
Wyoming	58.2%	Nebraska	48.5%
Minnesota	57.0%	Pennsylvania	48.4%
California	56.6%	Rhode Island	47.9%
Kansas	55.8%	Texas	47.9%
Maine	54.7%	New Mexico	47.6%
Idaho	54.5%	N. Dakota	47.5%
New Jersey	54.3%	Georgia	47.1%
Virginia	53.9%	Kentucky	46.2%
Maryland	53.7%	Tennessee	45.7%
Vermont	53.7%	N. Carolina	45.3%
Iowa	53.6%	Alabama	44.2%
Arizona	53.5%	S. Carolina	43.3%
Massachusetts	53.0%	W. Virginia	42.8%
Missouri	52.6%	Oklahoma	41.5%
Hawaii	52.4%	Louisiana	41.2%
Michigan	51.5%	Arkansas	37.3%
Montana	50.9%	Mississippi	37.2%
U.S. Average 51%	Source: U.S. Census Bureau		

Figure 1 Percent of Households with Computers by State in 2000

> There is much soul-searching and finger-pointing going on with regard to Russia. Articles are being written asking, Who lost Russia? I am convinced that we, the western democracies, are largely responsible, and that the sins of omission were committed by the Bush and Thatcher administrations. (Soros 2000)

So what can governments do, especially the governments of developing countries? Of course they can support bi-national exchange agreements like the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars. They can seek treaties that allow foreign nationals to earn money without taxation similar to ones that most Eastern European countries have with the US. They can pass laws that allow safe international investment. They can offer scholarships in support of international study, both for students and teachers. They can develop an international communication system that is reliable and modern enough to support Internet and other communication systems. And they can develop a school grant program that makes it easier for local schools to compete for and hire foreign nationals as teachers.

In fact, governments interested in developing their countries economically could help themselves by starting cultural exchanges first which will almost certainly lead to economic development. Eastern Europe, hardly yet a model of prosperity, has, nonetheless, come further economically in the past 10 years than anyone had hoped. The Czech Republic thrives, as does Poland and Hungary. The Baltics are doing well, and Slovenia looks for all the world as prosperous as its neighbour Austria. Romania has improved, as has Bulgaria, and many of these countries no longer have unstable economies. (I was in Bulgaria in June of 1997 when the lev was anchored to the German mark; between January 1997 and June 1997 inflation in that country was reported to be 240 percent.)[3] As evidence of their successful economic and political changes, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia are poised to join the EU, which plans for further Eastern European additions in the future (www.rferl.org/nca/special/EUEXPANDS/).

Bottom-up language programs (with top-down support)

You could pick any one of the projects that Soros has supported — or developed — and think of yourself as having made a good start in opening societies to the free exchange of ideas and, as a non-necessary consequence, economic development. I am reminded of a scene in John Gardner's *Grendel*, a very clever re-telling of the ancient Old English poem, *Beowulf*, from the monster's perspective. Grendel, a flesh-eating adolescent of a monster, tiring of eating humans, goes to a dragon, the wisest man he knows, looking for advice, like many young people do, on what to do in the world. The dragon, sitting on a pile of gold, says, 'Just do anything. Take a first step. For example, you could collect gold and sit on it.' The dragon thinks for a minute, looks down at Grendel suspiciously, and roars, fire rolling out of his mouth, 'But not MY gold.'

For economic or cultural development, you could support Doctors without Borders, develop a water filtration system in besieged Sarajevo, develop a media arts project in the inner cities of America, fund high-school exchange programs organised by Rotary International, or whatever else Soros might have funded. I hesitate to argue that one project is better than another, although maybe some have more of what the British call the 'Multiplier Effect' than others. Certainly you would want to invest in something that has potential for a spin-off of one kind or another. Expenditures on one project should aid and abet others — on an on in a geometric progression. For me, nothing empowers a person like education, especially if that education incorporates the developing of skills that have unimagined and unintended consequences.

In my own case, in 1988-89, I saw students in Hungary eager to learn English in the hopes that they could get better jobs than they thought they could without the language — and I saw talented teachers of English who could benefit from contact with a US-trained or Britain-trained native speaker of English. Before the Peace Corps was in

Eastern Europe, it occurred to me that my MA students had trouble finding their first jobs, and that Budapest wanted native speakers of English who were young enough and enthusiastic enough to work on less than ideal circumstances.

First, I got a formal commitment to house seven teachers in the Budapest public schools from the Director of the City of Budapest's Education Office (a document that had more stamps and seals on it that a peace accord). And then I went to my government. When I set up a meeting with the Information Officer at the American Embassy and started talking excitedly about the interest in Hungary in English teachers, I got a good hearing (after all, the man's parents had immigrated to the US from Hungary). And when I started talking about how many dollars it would cost to send an American to Hungary (money that the Hungarians simply did not have in their school budgets), I got a blank stare. He said that he facilitated programs that had already been authorised and funded and not new programs. Not daunted, I forwarded a one-page proposal to Mark Palmer, then known as a dynamic diplomat and US Ambassador to Hungary. Palmer read the proposal and liked it and called me to say so. He directed his Information Office to contact the State Department in order to find a way to fund it.

I was elated and delighted to see my government working so expeditiously. I left Hungary for some writing and R&R in Scotland. I followed through with my contact at the US State Department, pretty confident that the structure would be in place for me to send teachers in early 1990 or for the 1990-91 school year. Sometime in late June of 1989, I called the State Department from Scotland and left a message with my contact officer, Csaba Csikes. He called me back and said, cryptically, I can't talk to you about it now, but pay attention to BBC news next week when President Bush will make an announcement. Once you have heard the announcement, call me again.

So I waited, I watched BBC news, and on July 12th, BBC news reported that President George Bush announced that he was expanding the Peace Corps to send English language teachers to Hungary and hoped to place volunteers in all 19 of Hungary's counties. Not knowing how government works, I assumed that Palmer had turned magic and that I would soon be working with Peace Corps officials to place volunteers in my schools. It was, then, with a certain amount of naive enthusiasm that I called Csbaba Csikes the following Friday. Once I told him that I had seen the news, he said, 'You know what this means, don't you?' I confessed that I did not. He said that with Peace Corps sending volunteers, the State Department, which was going to fund my program, could not fund a competing government program. He would forward my proposal and ideas to the Peace Corps, but my initiative was at a stopping point as far as the State Department was concerned.

Disappointed, but still convinced of the value of the program, once I got back to the US I wrote to the Peace Corps placement office and offered my schools. I did not get far. Unlike my proposal which required MA level teachers with some English language teaching experience, Peace Corps was quite content with BA level liberal arts majors. And, of course, they had their own means of finding them. They needed neither the schools I had found nor my help finding teachers. I was, in effect, a guy with such a good idea that others had already had it.

Having promised the City of Budapest MA level teachers, I decided to look further for funding for my small program. Sometime during the fall I remembered the Soros Foundation, learned the name of the New York office's Executive Assistant to Mr. Soros, called her, told her my tale, convinced her that the teachers I would send were likely to be more qualified than the Peace Corps volunteers, and she said, 'Send me a one-page description, including the budget.' I wrote it that day, faxed it off, and within 48 hours received a phone call back from Elisabeth Lorand saying, simply, 'We'll fund it.' The first year, we sent seven teachers to Budapest, each receiving an airline ticket and a few hundred dollars in supplemental salary from Soros' New York foundation. I had found the teachers and supervised their work through a University of Montana contribution.

From the 1990-91 academic year, the program took off. Primarily because we selected very competent, very imaginative teachers, partly because the teaching was located in Budapest, a city that anyone could come to love, and partly because the administrative staff of Mr. Soros' local, Hungarian foundation (Soros Foundation Hungary) were so supportive, the first year was an unqualified success.

From this first start, Soros Foundations (now Open Society Institute-NY) came back each year asking if we could find and supervise more and more teachers for placement in more and more countries. At the pinnacle of what came to be called the SPELT (Soros Professional English Language Teaching) Program, we were sending 73 teachers to 21 different countries (see Appendix 1).

SPELT became, at its peak, a big and evolving English teaching program, and it is hard to characterise such a changing program in the amount of time we have here. Essentially, SPELT is an Open Society Institute Regional Program (funds coming from New York and not from individual, in-country, OSI foundations). Teachers are selected by TEFL professionals (until 1999, The University of Montana) and supervised by both Montana, the local school director, and the English Language Coordinator working for the in-country Soros Foundation. Teachers are almost invariably MA teachers who have had some teaching experience, but who want a structured, supportive, international teaching experience. Since the teachers are paid comparatively little (round-trip airfare, a book allowance, a local salary comparable to other teachers' salaries, a free apartment, and a salary bonus of between $5000 and $10,000), very often the teachers agree to teach in what are typically isolated cities under less than ideal teaching conditions because they are committed to the same principles that motivated Mr. Soros to support SPELT in the first place — they are interested in helping the students and teachers who are studying and working in emerging democracies learn English and the modern language teaching methodologies. While SPELT has no age limit (we had one very successful teacher in her 70s at the end of her appointment), all of the teachers are recently trained in the US, Canada, and Britain, and all come with recommendations attesting to the highest character, independence, self-reliance, and resilience. The following is a list of the characteristics we were looking for in a SPELT Fellow:

What we're looking for in a Soros English Language Teaching Fellow

Figure 2: Characteristics of a Soros Fellow

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

1. Well educated to the MA level in the fields of linguistics and/or language.
2. Formally trained to teach the English language to second language learners.
3. Recently educated in the most modern of language teaching techniques.
4. Some teaching experience.
5. Some overseas traveling or living experience.
6. The experience of having learned a second language.
7. Some knowledge of one of the languages of the country.
8. Some outside talent that makes them special people.
9. A feeling that their education is incomplete.
10. Internship, project, or work experiences that gives them a sense of professional accomplishment

PERSONALITY

1. Emotionally stable.
2. Outgoing and warm hearted, truly interested in other people.
3. Enough psychological strength that they can live in a country where they may not speak the language.
4. A desire to share what they know with others both in the school and in the community.
5. Someone who by manner and action represents the best that the west has to offer.
6. A feeling that their education is incomplete.
7. An interest in bringing back to their home country the best their host country has to offer.
8. A spirit of adventure.
9. An interest in other cultures.
10. A determination to learn the language.

11. A conviction that they will learn more from working with the local teachers and from working in a new country than they ever will teach.

12. An ability to adapt to unfamiliar living and working conditions.

13. Knowledge that they may have to forego some of the conveniences they have at home.

14. An ability and willingness to live on comparatively little salary.

The funding and governance structure of SPELT (like all OSI national programs) is very much grassroots. New York, the governing and funding foundation, tries not to influence local decisions in terms of what should be funded and what should not be funded in the country concerned. In the case of SPELT, the local OSI-Foundations decide if they want to have English teachers in their country. If so, the foundation in each country advertises the possibility of a SPELT Fellow to local universities. They receive the applications and rank them in terms of need and commitment to supporting a fellow. The foundation extracts commitments from the schools for (1) wages, (2) teaching loads, (3) housing, and (4) assignment of a buddy teacher, an English teacher who will commit for a year to helping the SPELT Fellow work effectively. Then the foundation's English language coordinator makes a formal request for the number of fellows the foundation is willing to support during a given academic year. OSI-NY pays for the recruiting, and the dollar supplements (described above). Once the teachers arrive in-country, there is an orientation program run by the foundation, and the teachers are sent to their posts.

Before the teachers are renewed for a second year, they are very thoroughly evaluated by the school directors and the local Soros English Language Coordinator. And they are evaluated not just on their teaching, but their commitment to the school and the students and their willingness to participate in school activities in support of language learning.

While the classroom teacher was the original concept behind SPELT, during the past five years SPELT has been sending Teacher Trainers as well. These are more senior and more experienced teachers, ones who are expected to teach teaching methodology classes in the universities and also to provincial districts offering semester-long, in-service courses for local English teachers.

While I have little direct experience with other English language programs like the Peace Corps Volunteers, USIA English Teaching Fellows, or the British Council teachers, I think that SPELT is different in kind because we can get more accountability from both the schools and the fellows, because there is a local English Language Coordinator, who works for the OSI-Foundation. And certainly, when things go wrong as they invariably do, the local English Language Coordinator is in a position to resolve them, if only because the foundation has so many hydra-headed development programs. But beyond the political implications and implied threat of further funding that the foundation has, the English Language Coordinator is a teaching professional who knows the local educational system, is well-connected to local schools and teachers, and can maximise the effect of the teacher on the school system. Many of them develop the teacher training seminars, arrange for visiting lectures, and set up summer and after-school language programs in which the fellows can also teach.

Recommendation 3: Develop a teaching fellow program in support of language teaching in the local schools with both a teacher and teach-training component

Almost every developing country faces the same problem — no money to do anything other than the status quo; new initiatives are discouraged because they are almost impossible to bring off. But I believe that any ministry of education can find the political support and the money to bring off a program like SPELT on its own, especially if the ministry starts slowly, develops a track record, and publicises the success broadly. And while Soros money may not be available in every country, there are other international resources that would support language programs. NGO foundations like Soros' Open Society Institute might be approached for seed money, and government agencies already support language teaching: the US State Department runs English Language Programs now formerly run out of the United States Information Agency, the US Peace Corps still sends Volunteers to under-developed countries, and the British Council is very supportive of English language instruction.

To make it work, the ministries have to promise collaboration. They cannot just go to the funding sources for a full handout. They have to share the cost which assures the funding source that they are sharing the risk and taking full responsibility. If I were working for a local ministry, I would organise a proposal as follows:

- Identify the need for language instruction of whatever kind (classroom or teacher training (or both).
- Identify the schools where the teachers would work with a rationale for why these schools can be counted on to make maximal use of a teacher.
- Secure commitments from the schools that they will share the cost of the teachers' work.
- Establish a central office in the Ministry responsible for coordination, fiscal oversight, and academic integrity.
- Allocate even a small amount of money in support of the program (office space, in-country salaries for both teachers and coordinators count, free apartments, etc) as evidence of the commitment of the ministry to the project.
- Develop a proposal in support of a language teaching program that shows a decreasing reliance on the foundation and an increasing responsibility of the ministry.

English/foreign language schools

While my own personal involvement with Soros was my design and development of the SPELT Program, Soros also funded, under the direction of Maja Danon (of OSI-NY), a number of language schools; schools designed to complement the language instruction offered by the public educational system and by international educational support like the SPELT Program. These schools have been designed as standalone language schools, are tuition-charging, and serve as an alternative, continuing education program. The students in the schools are public school students, university students, and professionals. Because these student populations have such different language objectives, the classes are tailored to their educational needs, many of them conversation classes, but others are English for specific purposes classes. While all of the schools teach English, dependent on the need, the schools also teach other modern languages, including local language classes for NGO personnel working in the country.

Country	Name of the school	Established	Became self-supporting
Belarus	SIH♦-Minsk	October 1994	January 1997
B&H	Language Center — Sarajevo Language Center — Mostar (closed down) Language Center — Zenica (closed down) Anglia-Banja Luka (Serbian entity in B&H)	During the war 1998	1999
Estonia	SIH-Tallinn (closed down)	Early 1993	January 1996
Kyrgyzstan	Soros Language School — Bishkek	2001	
Lithuania	SIH-Vilnius SIH-Kaunas (sold)	March 1993 March 1994	January 1995 January 1996
Macedonia	SIH-Skopje SIH-Tetovo (SIH-Skopje branch)	February 1994 End of 1998	January 1997 Supported by SIH-Skopje
Moldova	Pro Didactica, former OWH •	October 1994	January 1997
Mongolia	ESPI+ (Self-supporting before taken over by OSI Mongolia)		
Romania	SIH-Timisoara ACCESS-Cluj ILC*-Iasi	January 1992 1996 September 1995	January 1997 1999 January 1998
Ukraine	SIH-Kiev SIH-Lviv SIH-Kharkiv SIH-Odessa SIH-Dnipropetrovsk	October 1992 June 1994 November 1994 Early 1998 Mid 1998	January 1995 January 1997 January 1998

Figure 3: English/Foreign Language Schools Established by the Soros Foundations

For a listing, country-by-country, of the language schools that Soros has supported, see the chart on page 169:

From Danon, M (1999 October 12) 'Soros English Language Programs: Strategy for the Year 2000 and Beyond,' Open Society Institute Webpage (Soros English Language Programs). Retrieved August 20, 2001 from the World Wide Web: http://www.soros.org/spelt/strategy.html

Total: **20 schools in 10 countries; 13 self-supporting schools in 8 countries;**

♦ *SIH stands for Soros International House;*
• *OWH stands for Open World House;*
† *ESPI stands for English for Specific Purposes Institute;*
* *ILC stands for International Language Centre*

I want to call your attention to the third and fourth columns, the columns that tell the date that the schools were established and the date that they were self-supporting. Soros did not just fund these language schools into perpetuity. He offered them financial support in order to get them established, rent space, develop materials, and even establish computer labs. But he expected them to be self-supporting within three years.

And these schools have been a remarkable success. Of the 20 schools that he has established in 10 countries, notice that 13 schools from 8 countries are already self-supporting. One of the Soros Schools, Pro Didactica (formerly, Open World House) has attracted students from the city of Chisineau, Moldova. The success of this school is truly impressive, especially since many of these students are paying for their instruction out of their own incomes, instruction that does not come cheap. I have included appendices in this paper to give you a full sense of the effectiveness of the school, but for our purposes, just consider the enrolment figures since 1994-95, the first year that the language school was open:

Year of study	Session I	Sesssion II	Session III	Session IV	Session V	Total
1994-1995	295	295	295			885
1995-1996	319	319	319	319		1276
1996-1997	356	377	473	479		1685
1997-1998	417	417	525	589		1948
1998-1999	414	462	574	502	77	2029
1999-2000	376	366	363	388	181	1674
2000-2001	315	348	342	377	230	1612
					Total	11109

Figure 4: Enrolment Pattern, Open World House, Moldova, 1994-2001

Recommendation 4: Establish language schools

Developing countries need to develop their citisen's capacity to work with international businesses, government, and non-government organisations. Not only should they do this for their school age children, but also for adults, people who might otherwise be locked out of very productive lives with language training just because they were educated before the globalisation movements that have taken place within the past ten years.

The Soros Language Schools have worked so well because they are needed. Professionals have found language training improves their working conditions and job prospects. For example, almost 50% of the Pro Didactica/Open World House language students are workers or professionals. That means that they pay for language instruction out of what, in Moldova, are meagre wages. There is no greater testament to the value of language learning than the willingness of the citisenry to pay for education, especially in countries where education has always been free of charge.

And the government can develop these schools with the confidence that they will be, if operated properly, self-sufficient in a very short period of time. While three years might be too short, certainly after three years the government can expect to decrease the subsidy on a sliding scale. Within five years, at the longest, the government will have developed a non-profit school that can serve some of the language needs of the country, and can jump-start language instruction without going through the educational bureaucracy that countries have. Indeed, set up properly, the language school can serve as a host institution to receive native speakers who can also teach part time at the local teacher training programs in the universities. If such a program works anything close to the way they have worked for the Soros Foundations, the instruction will be a model of educational efficiency and effectiveness that can be adopted and adapted, as appropriate, by local schools.

Conclusion

I have had the privilege of working in the development of language programs with a wealthy sponsor who has been convinced that language instruction is a necessary component of any development program. Even within the Open Society Institute foundations, language competence was almost a prerequisite to employment, at least in some programs. All multinational OSI meetings are conducted in English, as are the courses in the OSI-supported Central European University in Budapest. Early on, Mr. Soros realised that if the regional countries were to help one another, they had to do that through a common language. English was the choice, for obvious reasons.

One can extrapolate from Soros' work in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe and the Newly Independent States of the former USSR and Yugoslavia. Development there has been dramatically aided by an investment — by NGOs, GOs, and national and local governments — in foreign language instruction. I propose that developing nations try to develop:

- bilingual schools;
- open and free exchanges of information through cultural exchange programs and Infrastructure development of communication facilities;
- language teaching programs that invite foreign teachers to work in the country on year-long contracts; and
- publicly-funded private language schools.

In all cases, the language teaching programs like these I have reported on, have been government approved and sponsored programs, often, as I have reported, with external support funds. But I want to stress, in all cases, the national government has been a very important partner in the develop of these language teaching programs. The teaching of foreign languages may be one of the most important educational programs a country can have. Certainly those countries that have already adopted these programs have seen a dramatic increase in the ability of their citisens to contribute to the country's economic development.

Notes

1. A March 27, 2001 *Salon.com* article by Alan Duetschman says he 'risked $10 billion — billion with a B — that the British pound would fall', a figure that seems improbable.
2. For a particularly vitriolic account, see a posting to FreeRepublic.com called 'The Secret Financial Network Behind (sic) 'Wizard' George Soros' http://www.freerepublic.com/forum/a93634.htm
3. On 1 July 1997, Bulgaria adopted a currency board, effectively pegging lev to the German mark, fixed at a rate of 1,000 to 1 mark. The adoption of a currency board was a condition of further lending by the IMF. With lev stabilised (it had fallen from 79 BGL = 1USD in April 1996 to 3000 BGL = 1 USD in February 1997), the government was able to rein in inflation (down to 22.3 per cent in 1998 from 240 per cent in 1996) and is now better placed to reform the finance sector http://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/bulgaria/

Appendix 1:

PLACEMENTS FOR AY 98-99, SPELT PROGRAM

Placements	Location	Level	Fellow
AZERBAIJAN (2)			
Western University	Baku	University	Susan Sunflower
Azerbaijan University	Baku	University	John Silver
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (3)			
University of Sarajevo	Sarajevo	University	Chris Biehl/ Noreen Skennion
BULGARIA (4)			
Foreign Language School	Silven	Secondary	Amy Watson
Johah Exarch 5th Language School	Varna	Secondary	Ed Zawaski
Aprilov National High School	Gabrovo	Secondary	Kassia Balian
Second Language School	Sofia	Secondary	Anthony Dunn
CROATIA (2)			
University of Rijeka	Rikeka	University	Allan Birmic
Private Classics Gim	Zagreb	Secondary	Mary McQuillan
CZECH REPUBLIC (2)			
Gymnasium	Lovosice	Secondary	Andy Weckherlin
GEORGIA (3)			
Institute of Languages and Culture	Tblisi	Teacher Training College	Amanda Morgan/ Lynn Grantz
Kutaisi State University	Kutaisi	University	Kevin Philhower
HAITI (2)			
University Ecole	Port-a-Prince	University	Susan Renaud/ Anna Lokowich
HUNGARY (2)			
Vajda Janos Gimnazium	Budapest	University	Jerol Enoch
Dual Language School	Balatonalmadi	Secondary	Julie Lana

KAZAKHASTAN (4)

West Kazakhstan	Uralsk	University	Michael Schulman/ Anthony Samuel
The Aktobe University	Aktobe	University	Matt Brown/ Brian Grim

KYRGYZSTAN (4)

Osh State University	Osh	University	Allison Oswald/ Chris Baldwin
Teacher Trainer and school #69	Bishek	Secondary	Linda Werbner
Bishek Humanities University	Bishek	University	Helen Prevost

LATVIA (4)

Vilis Plidons State	Kuldiga	High School	Sally Stein
Jelgava HS #4	Jelgava	HS	Sally Freeman
Preili State Gymnasium	Preili	HS	Marilyn Iszi
Rezekne HH #5	Rezekne	HS	Jane Duffy

LITHUANIA (5)

Alytus Pininu	Alytus	Secondary	Roderick Van Huis
Drskininkai HS #4	Druskininkai	Secondary	Vincent Kreder
Vilnius Uzupis HS	Vilnius	Secondary	Vann Lovett
Panevezys Zemynos HS	Panevezys	Secondary	Niki Albright
Joniskis Agriculture School	Joniskio	Secondary	Sarah Thrush

MOLDOVA (5)

Free Independent University	Chisinau	University	Katja Stengelin
Alteou Russo Balti State University	Balti	University	Victoria Gross

MONGOLIA (2)

Foreign Language Institute	Ulaanbaatar	University	Steven Watt
Okron Foreign Language Institute	Ulaanbaatar	University	Dan Davich

ROMANIA (4)

Casa Corpului Didatic	Suceava	Post Secondary	Elizabeth Abbott
Elena Ghiba Birta	Arad	HS	Joe Podeszwa
LiviuRebreanu HS	Bistritia	HS	Gail Ascari
Liceul Teoretic	Corabia	HS	Chad Marsh

RUSSIA (5)

Volzhsky University	Togliatti	University	Joan Achilles
The Academy of Humanities	Samara	University	Anastasia Maddox

SLOVAKIA (5)

Gymnazium Capkova	Bratislava	Secondary	Maria Bolt
Evanjelicke	Banska Bystrica	Secondary	Vicky Bocock
Gymnazium	Myjava	Secondary	Jonathan Gresty
University of Constantine	Nitra	University	Scott Hartmann

SLOVENIA (4)

Gimnazija Poljane	Ljubljana	Secondary	Chris Bedea
Gim. Murska	Murska Sobota	HS	David Greenwald
Gim. Piran	Piran	HS	Linda Johnson
Tehniki Solski center	Nova Gorica	Secondary	Heather Clemans
Druga Gimnazija Maribor	Maribor	Secondary	John Harrington/Ted Hall

UZBEKISTAN (4)

Tashkent State	Tashkent	University	Patricia Birch
Bukhara State	Bukhara	University	Kitty Johnson
Andijan State Pedagogical Uni.	Andijan	University	Johan Rasanayaagam
Uzbek State World Languages	Taskent	University	Erik Owen

YUGOSLAVIA (2)

University of Montenegro	Niksic	University	Trevor Shanklin
Institute for Foreign Languages	Podgorica	University	Mark Trotter

UKRAINE (1)

Dnip. International Lang. School.	Dnipropetrovask	Post-Secondary	Peter Grosscup

Appendix 2: Kinds of Classes, Pro Didactica (formerly Open World House), Moldova

Description of services

The school offers intensive courses in General English, in seven levels from beginner to conversational fluency. It also offers specialised advanced courses including TOEFL preparation, Business English, Written Communication, Public Speaking, English for Lawyers, and occasionally other courses according to student demand. It also has a small children's program for intermediate learners.

Groups — up to 15 people — are medium-sised and interactive. All teachers work to establish a friendly and cooperative classroom environment. Two elements of the lessons that distinguish this school from others are the strict ENGLISH ONLY policy, and use of native speakers at higher levels.

General English

The General English program serves students from 'Absolute Beginner,' who have never studied English, to students with a high conversational and basic academic fluency. The communicative language approach is used at all levels.

Lower levels provide the basic vocabulary and structures of the English language, encouraging learners to focus on understanding and producing simple ideas in spoken English. Intermediate levels introduce and practise a wide range of grammatical forms to allow students to express more complex ideas on a variety of themes. Students are encouraged to take more risks and be creative in producing language and developing fluency. These levels incorporate more practice in composing written English. Upper levels drive students to achieve a strong level of conversational fluency, balanced with attention to error-correction. Students work with article-length texts to improve reading comprehension, and often view film clips for real-time speaking comprehension and discussion starters. Students are also encouraged to contribute topics which interest them for language work in class.

English for children

The children's program serves intermediate level secondary school students. While the focus is on interaction and improving general fluency, children's classes also enrich and develop vocabulary, and provide children with contact with English-speaking culture.

Advanced conversation and fluency course

This course is to help students improve their ability to communicate freely in the English language. The course introduces a wide variety of situational and topical vocabulary, including: narration/storytelling, food/restaurants/health, directions, physical descriptions, controversial issues, travel, transportation and others. Students have the opportunity to practice the active use of introduced vocabulary through discussions, debates, speaking games, and role-plays.

Written communication

This course develops and improves students' written communication in English. The writing course is designed not only to help students with their grammar and organisation, but also to teach students what information is expected in English language writing — from business letters to application essays — and how the information should be presented.

TOEFL preparation

This class is designed for people who are planning on taking the TOEFL in the near future and wish to improve their TOEFL scores. In this class students learn important test-taking strategies; review vocabulary, idioms and grammar; and learn how to answer reading comprehension, listening comprehension, structure and written expression questions. Additionally, the students learn composition skills necessary to score well on the Test of Written English (TWE). Finally, students have the opportunity to take several sample TOEFL exams to gauge their progress.

Business English

The Business English Program is designed for students with a business background, or an interest in business. The class simulates the environment of the business/financial sphere in order to generate the opportunity to use English in situations relevant to the students' interests. The course emphasises oral skills and business writing; it focuses on language and business functions in a variety of areas; covers vocabulary and concepts relating to a variety of business topics, such as management, public speaking, meetings and negotiations, interviewing, advertising, business letter/memo writing, resume writing, and business ethics.

English for lawyers

In addition to activities aimed at improving the student's general standard of English, various legal topics are studied in this course. The following basic topics are covered: aspects of civil law, contracts, torts, defamation, criminal law in the UK and the US, judicial institutions, rights of citisens, internationalisation of the law, law enforcement, and comparison with the Moldovan legal system.

Medical English

The course is designed for current and future professionals with an intermediate level of English who need to develop communication skills needed to participate in professional development opportunities such as foreign training programs and international seminars.

English for librarians

This course introduces terminology in library science and is intended to help librarians improve their English skills through discussions on such topics as library operation, international standard book numbers, major classification schemes, catalogues, library technology, etc.

(Report by Galii, Victoria; personal communication)

Appendix 3: Classification of Students (Pro Didicatica (formerly Open World House), Moldova)

The age demographics of students currently studying at the Pro-Didactica Language School, according to the survey, are as follows:

- less than 25 years old — 57%
- 26-35 years old — 28%
- more than 35 years old — 15%

The majority (83%) of clients are characterised by a high income level (of more than 1000 lei per month per person).

In order to develop the future strategy of the school, we classified current customers into different groups and analyzed the correlation between the social characteristics and motivation to enrol in the language school. The three top ranking motives per group are listed in the table below:

Classification by age

Motivation for coming to the English Language School

less than 16 years		16-25 years		26-35 years		more than 35 years	
study abroad	53%	study abroad	33%	current work	39%	current work	52%
general development	32%	general development	29%	general development	24%	general development	36%
other	15%	current work	16%	new job	17%	other	12%

From the table, it is clear that the main motivation behind the students decision to enrol in the language school is their aspiration to study abroad and to develop their general knowledge. The primary motivations for those more than 25 years old are language requirements in their current work, desire for general development or the wish to find a new job.

Classification by income

Motivation for coming to the English Language School

less than 500 lei		500-1000 lei		1000-2000 lei		more than 2000 lei	
current work	32%	general development	32%	study abroad	30%	general development	40%
general development	29%	study abroad	24%	current work	23%	current work	40%
other	39%	current work	24%	other	47%	study abroad	31%

Regardless of the level of income, all customers are motivated by their wish to expand their general knowledge, or because they need English for their current work. Furthermore, approximately 25-30% of customers of the three upper income categories came to the Language School because they want to study abroad.

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Classification by occupation

Motivation for coming to the English Language School

high school students		**university students**		**employees**		**businessmen**		**professional**	
study abroad	56%	study abroad	44%	current work	49%	current work	46%	current work	48%
general development	31%	general development	31%			general development	39%	general development	26%

About half of high school students and university students are motivated by their wish to study abroad, and almost half of employees, businessmen and professionals study English for their current work. Naturally, all of them are interested in expanding their general knowledge.

To summarise, current customers have a high education base, which means they place a high priority on education. They also have high aspirations and are interested in continuous learning.

Year of study	Session I	Session II	Session III	Session IV	Session V	Total
1994-1995	295	295	295			885
1995-1996	319	319	319	319		1276
1996-1997	356	377	473	479		1685
1997-1998	417	417	525	589		1948
1998-1999	414	462	574	502	77	2029
1999-2000	376	366	363	388	181	1674
2000-2001	315	348	342	377	230	1612
					Total	11109

Total Enrolment, 1994-2001

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12 Language, textbooks and perspectives on social harmony in Sri Lanka

David Hayes

Socio-political context

The long-standing ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is well known and well documented. Tension between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamil communities has existed to varying degrees for much of the twentieth century. It was exacerbated by the 1956 Parliament Act which made Sinhala the sole official language (devaluing Tamil and English), and finally erupted into open warfare in July 1983 when, after an attack on an army convoy by Tamil separatists, 'Sinahlese mobs engaged in country-wide violence against Tamils ... [which] was widely believed to be state-tolerated, if not state sponsored' (Little 1999:245). Since the July 1983 riots, which I myself witnessed, the Sri Lankan government and the separatist Liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have prosecuted an increasingly costly and largely futile tit-for-tat war whose legacy of deeply entrenched inter-community hostility and distrust will take generations to overcome, even when the war is finally ended. It is obviously not my place to apportion 'blame' nor to attempt to say who is 'right' and who 'wrong' in this but the conflict must be noted as a key part of the backdrop against which the topic discussed in this paper is set.

Language policies have changed since the 1956 'Sinhala Only' Act and Tamil has been given official status as a national language, with English, the language of the colonial power (and still the first language often of the small Burgher minority), deemed the 'link language' between the communities. In theory, citisens of Sri Lanka have the right to official documentation and correspondence in their community language, but in practice it is Sinhala which is dominant. It is instructive to note, for example, that when signs were recently placed in the car park of the Ministry of Education informing users of changes to entry/exit arrangements, these were written only in Sinhala. This may appear to be a small matter but in the case of language rights it is incumbent upon governments and their agencies to adhere to official policies and thus play a crucial role in promoting equity. And, given that most Tamils are able to communicate verbally in Sinhala but far fewer are literate in it (the scripts being different), then even apparently 'small matters' such as signs in ministry car parks may have significant practical consequences for members of the minority community; as well as being indicative of wider official attitudes.

Although official language policies have changed, the desire to promote English as a 'link language' between communities cannot yet be said to have made much headway. It is predominantly amongst the members of the socio-economic elite, for whom English has always functioned as a strong second language (and for some a first language) irrespective of government policies, that English is most widely used. Where English is promoted nationally, it is more often as a language of economic advancement than as a language of community harmony. But, whatever the reasons for its promotion, the demand is strong and the political backing powerful. As Kandiah (2000:14) comments: 'Not a day passes without several affirmations of the importance of English by various important figures. Pronouncements about the language and the need to teach and learn it emanate from the most significant official figures and institutions, and are then given real substance in the forms of plans, strategies and so on, the implementation of which is seriously pursued.' Set alongside this, official perceptions of a decline in the standards of English in the country have inevitably impacted upon education, and it is to the educational context that we shall now turn.

Educational context

Like other countries, Sri Lanka has 'national goals' for education. These were articulated by the National Education Commission (NEC) in its report of May 1992. Of the nine goals, the first two have most relevance here:

1. The achievement of National Cohesion, National Integration and National Unity.

2. The establishment of a pervasive pattern of social justice and the active elimination of inequalities.

Peiris (2000:10) comments on the first of these goals that: 'This is specified as a priority on account of the strife and tension that has torn Sri Lankan society apart in recent times. Such a sense of national unity must of necessity draw on the various traditional cultures in general and from the values and attitudes promoted by the rich variety of religious faiths in the country.' She then comments of the second goal (Peiris 2000:10) that: 'This depends both on the genuine goodwill and harmony among groups and on the recognition of one's own duties and rights by all citisens.' It is clear, then, that education is seen by the NEC as a means of engineering social change, in particular social harmony, in Sri Lanka.

There is significant potential within these goals for strengthening the position of English as a link language between communities, which might then play its part in promoting genuine understanding between them. However, for this to be realised, children from all communities need to be taught together. But Sinhalese and Tamil children do not meet at school. Education is in the child's mother tongue and schools are separated; there are not different streams for each medium of instruction within the same school. This means that the opportunity for Sinhalese and Tamil children to mix in English classes, and thus to participate in a practical realisation of the use of English as a link language, is lost. As a recent report commented of education more broadly: 'Although education in Sri Lanka has the potential to reduce conflict and build social harmony, its current instructional structure reinforces ethnic and language differences.' (Department for International Development and World Bank 2000:7)

It would probably be true to conclude that the great social demand for English stems purely from economic imperatives, and that the potential contribution of the English language to the achievement of 'social harmony' in Sri Lanka through its use as a link language is recognised more in theory than given substance in practice. Nevertheless, in the current climate of widespread educational reform initiated by the government and supported by international donors — amongst them the World Bank (WB), the Department for International Development (DFID), the Asian Development Bank (ADB) — 'social harmony' is actively considered as an objective in the implementation of programs. Our own contribution to this in the form of the Primary English Language Project (PELP) will now be discussed.

Project context

At present the government of Sri Lanka is making serious efforts to promote the use of English and proclaims its desire to offer English to children in all schools and all grades throughout the island. PELP, which is funded by the United Kingdom's DFID, supports the government in its attempts to strengthen the teaching-learning of English at primary level throughout the island. It has two main components: teacher development and curriculum development.

The teacher development component is operationalised through a network of 30 Regional English Support Centres (RESCs), which pre-dated the project and which is the Ministry of Education's (MOE) usual vehicle for in-service training for teachers of English. The RESCs operate even in conflict areas — there are centres in Jaffna, Batticaloa and Vavuniya, for instance. The centres run courses for all teachers in their locality which focus on general primary English teaching capacity (some 1,000 one-day courses for 6,000 teachers in the year 2000), as well as specific training for the introduction of new curriculum materials, such as those produced by the project for Grades 3-5.

PELP's curriculum development component is responsible for the production of materials for primary Grades 3-5 (formal English teaching begins only in Grade 3) consisting of a Pupil's Book, Workbook and Teacher's Guide — the new *Let's Learn English* series. The development of these books will be considered in more detail in section 2, but before we move on, I would like to illustrate the interface between project, educational and socio-political contexts, in order that we may appreciate more fully the nature and scale of the challenge facing anyone involved in social and educational change in Sri Lanka at present.

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The interface between project, educational and socio-political contexts

I reproduce here verbatim a letter I received from one of the RESCs in the conflict areas.

Letter from the Coordinator, Regional English Support Centre, Jaffna, dated 15/09/2000, to David Hayes, Project Manager PELP.

Dear Sir,

> I regret to inform you that owing to the present disturbance in Jaffna I could not attend to The Millennium Books Presentation and all the other workshops organised by the PELP.
>
> I hope you will understand the difficulties that we are facing in Jaffna. During the early part of this year I got displaced with my family to far distant place. Again I got displaced owing to the internal war closer to my house. I also lost my household goods and other items. Most of the Government departments and schools did not function during this period. Therefore we could not organise our PELP workshops and other RESC activities during the second term. Again normalcy has resumed and we have commenced our normal RESC activities.
>
> I expect the special concern and support you have to the Jaffna RESC will continue for ever.
>
> Thank you.

What surprises me most about this letter (apart from the unnecessary apology) — or perhaps what I most admire about what it says to me of its writer (and no doubt of many other teachers like him) — is not just the seemingly infinite human capacity for endurance, but also the importance which people caught up in armed conflict attach to attempts to live ordinary or 'normal' lives in conditions which are totally beyond comprehension for most of us. Hanging on to vestiges of normality in times of strife is, it seems, key to hope that there will be a 'better tomorrow'. Education for one's children is central to this normality, and it is common for children from refugee camps for the internally displaced in Sri Lanka to register at their nearest school and to travel to and from the camp as 'home' to school every day. I often wonder about the inadequacy of any educational project to offer anything but minor palliatives in the face of conditions such as these, and feel that the very small role we can play in 'improving' the situation cannot but be found wanting. However, for the sake of these teachers and these children, whatever small contribution can be made to encouraging the children of communities in Sri Lanka 'to live fearlessly with and within difference(s)' rather than 'to dismiss or eliminate on the pretext of difference (destroy the other in [their] minds, in [their] world)' (Trinh 1989:84) is of urgent necessity.

Textbook development: goals, writers, writing, review processes

Textbook goals

I should perhaps add, before we delve more deeply into book development, that I am fully aware of the ideological implications inherent in the decision to teach English in Sri Lankan schools; so too that, as Auerbach (1995:9) has argued 'pedagogical choices about curriculum development, content, materials, classroom processes, and language use, although appearing to be informed by apolitical professional considerations, are, in fact, inherently ideological in nature'. Similarly, I am aware of the ideological import of the political decision to foster the use of English as a link language between communities. Indeed, it could be argued that it would be better to use all available resources to ensure that the nascent program to introduce Sinhala/Tamil as a second language to children in schools throughout the island, and that the success of this would fulfil the goal of engendering respect and tolerance amongst all communities. However, those decisions are not mine, and the role of the project is to support the policy of the Sri Lankan government. The process of book production thus began with the role of English in the community and in the educational system as givens; so too the classroom teaching-learning processes which had to conform to the Sri Lankan national curriculum.

When we began the process of book production, then, though mindful of the status of English as a link language between communities and the impact of that on all school English curricula, we were, in truth, much more exercised by the pressing, practical goal of producing a textbook, workbook and teacher's guide in a nine-month timescale at the same time as having to select and train their writers, illustrate the books and take them to a stage where printers could output film from CDs (a process normally taking two years). Nevertheless, we were concerned not just to ensure that the books met pedagogic goals, i.e. that, in conformity with the government's educational reform program, they should be activity-based and learner-centred, but also that they should meet broad social goals, i.e. that there should be equitable representation of communities, of religions and of gender, that they should portray children living in harmony, respecting each other and being tolerant of difference, and that there should be relevance to both rural and urban schoolchildren. In order to achieve this, the question of who was to write the books was crucial.

Textbook writers

In the selection of writers for the books, we made a conscious decision to break with the existing tradition of using senior, often retired figures from the educational cadre in Sri Lanka, and instead to work with those who were much closer to the children in school who are the ultimate users of the books — their teachers. We were in agreement with Jolly and Bolitho who comment (1998:111) that '... the further away the author is from the learners, the less effective the material is likely to be'. Accordingly, we

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searched for primary school teachers of English with talent for materials writing whom we could train to become textbook writers. Ultimately, fifteen teachers were selected in a completely open competition, carrying out writing tasks and being interviewed by a panel drawn from the MOE and the National Institute of Education (NIE), as well as project staff. This process gave them face validity in the system at the same time as it provided the project with teachers with talent for writing. All of the teachers were women and only one was from the minority Tamil community. The percentages were thus 93.3% Sinhalese and 6.6% Tamil; which does not mirror the percentage of each group in the country as a whole, respectively 74% and 18.2%. We could, perhaps, have adopted a policy of positive discrimination in favour of minorities but, at the time, it was felt that the selection process should be 'blind' to ethnicity and gender, in order that those with most potential for materials writing would come through. Had there been no minority representation at all, we would, of necessity, have had to re-think that process. The result was less than ideal but represented a workable way forward.

Textbook writing

Essentially the writing process was carried out at the same time as the writers themselves were being trained. This placed a very heavy burden on them, as it did on the project staff who carried out the majority of the training (and editing). Workshops were held which developed topic, language, skills and activity frameworks to provide the basis for the actual materials. The writers were also trained to provide artists' briefs for the illustrator. Draft materials were edited by the project's curriculum consultant and his counterpart (again also being simultaneously trained in this skill), rewritten by the team of teachers and then re-edited. Throughout there was close, frequent collaboration between writers and editors. There were two outsiders to this process. The first was the University of Warwick, where the writers went for a training/writing course led by Shelagh Rixon, herself a noted author of primary ELT textbooks. The second was a professional copy-editor, a British national but temporarily resident in Sri Lanka, to meet the need articulated by NIE for the books to conform to 'standard' British English norms, particularly of grammar and spelling. But it would be fair to conclude that the books were predominantly written, illustrated and taken to CD by a Sri Lankan team whilst working within a supportive framework provided by the project, which also offered training and editing input as an essential part of the process.

Textbook review processes

No resource material of any kind can be placed in Sri Lankan schools without official approval from NIE. There is a multi-stage process for official approval, which I do not propose to examine here except to note that written into it are directives concerning equity issues. The Curriculum Process Plan for Sri Lanka (NIE/MOE 2000:7) states inter alia that:

Resource Material

> The drafts of all these materials [textbooks, teacher's guides, etc] should go through a quality control mechanism to ensure that there is no bias against ethnicity, religion, gender and socially and economically disadvantaged groups.

Quality Control

> Units will be set up at the NIE and the EPD [Educational Publications Department/MOE] for quality control.
>
> All resource material produced for use in schools will be scrutinised for ethnic, religious, gender and social and economic bias by the responsible organisations before the final production of the material.

At the time of writing the first of our books (1999), the Curriculum Process Plan had not yet been published and, even two years later, it is questionable that quality control, at least at NIE, includes anything other than cursory reference to these matters, and that from the personal knowledge/skills of particular individuals rather than formalised procedures. There are, for example, no bias indicators extant.

However, my primary concern in this section is with the review process that took place as the materials were being written. In order to ensure that we had regular input from senior officials at NIE, we set up a 'curriculum monitoring team' which met at roughly monthly intervals to examine the materials in draft form, and to provide guidance on any aspect of them they felt necessary. It is unfortunate that all of these senior officials were Sinhalese. These meetings were illuminating to me as an outsider, often for unexpected reasons, of which two are relevant here.

1. Comments were often inadvertently illustrative of the deeply entrenched antagonism between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities.

2. Illustrations in the book were scrutinised closely to see that the minority ethnic group was 'marked'.

Let me illustrate each of these with examples.

At an early meeting we presented the four characters who would be introduced in the the Grade 3 books. The writers had chosen to represent two girls and two boys. These were a Sinhalese boy and girl, a Tamil girl and a Muslim boy (Muslims are held to be a separate minority community; their first language is usually Tamil). It was noted by a monitoring team member that the Tamil girl was the eldest of the four. We were then warned (though the Sinhalese speaker said this was not, of course, a personal opinion), that this could be taken by some to mean that Tamils came to Sri Lanka before the Sinhalese, thus causing offence to the majority community. Both groups came to the island from India centuries ago but there is continuing debate about who arrived first. Legitimisation of a prior claim to the country by one ethnic group rather than the other is the object of this debate, conveniently ignoring the now tiny aboriginal community which pre-dated both.

There was continuing debate at meetings over whether or not the Tamil girl should wear a 'pottu' on her forehead. Team members felt the Tamil community would want to be marked out in this way. In contrast, we believed the girl's name a sufficient indicator of her ethnicity and that all characters should be first and foremost children. If one was seen to be visibly different from the others, then this 'markedness' would send the wrong messages to the young children using the book.

Having described the process of book production and the various factors which affected this, I would now like to turn our attention to perspectives on the textbooks' potential contribution to the promotion of social harmony in Sri Lanka.

English textbooks and perspectives on social harmony

A social development consultant's perspective

Once the first of the books, that for Grade 3, had been published, it was felt by the project's managers, The British Council, that it would be useful if the Primary English Language Project as a whole could be examined with a view 'to evaluate the extent to which activities ... have contributed to DFID's equity, poverty alleviation and social harmony objectives.' (British Council 2000a:5) Accordingly, an expatriate social development consultant was commissioned to undertake this work. The consultant's report recognised that what PELP could hope to achieve by itself was limited. The project works within a national social, economic and educational context, and wider initiatives for change are also necessary. Three propositions were put forward in this connection.

> First, education and educational change are necessary but not sufficient conditions for social harmony. Education is but one component of a much broader social, political, legal and economic program of change. Second, education's role lies as much in **the preparation for**, as in the creation of, social harmony. Thirdly, this cannot happen overnight and any initiatives will take time. [Emphasis in original]
>
> (British Council 2000a:5)

Our effort to develop a truly nationwide network for in-service support for English teachers was seen to be working well, as this comment shows:

> RESC staff are from different ethnic communities and faiths. Training for trainers and teachers in English enables a national and equitable program for staff from a range of ethnic and religious backgrounds to be trained together.
>
> (British Council 2000a:5)

As the RESC network supports the introduction of the new textbooks into schools, it obviously has a crucial role to play in the implementation process, and this process itself must be equitable.

Comments made by the consultant in the report on the Grade 3 book itself, however, seem at times to be inconsistent or pedagogically uninformed, and will be reviewed here, not just for their context-specific import, but also so that more general lessons may be drawn later for the incorporation of work on their social dimensions into other projects and other textbook writing experiences.

To begin with, the report highlights the positive aspects of the Grade 3 book, as follows:

> The World Bank monitoring mission round-up meeting (November 29th 1999) commended the Grade 3 books produced through PELP as a 'milestone in textbook production in Sri Lanka'. Indeed the book has received much acclaim by teachers, parents and pupils.
>
> (British Council 2000a:24)

The author then enumerates comments received by her during the consultancy, such as:

> All Sri Lankan writing and production team recruited and developed that will promote sustainability
>
> Considerable talent and skills nurtured in the writers and producers
>
> Excellent illustrations, colour and overall production, very attractive to children, who are 'thrilled' to have a book like this
>
> Full of ideas, activities, games and songs to assist the teacher
>
> Variety of techniques to enhance skill development
>
> Relevant to contemporary society
>
> (British Council 2000a:24)

Following this, she begins a detailed critique of aspects of the book, in the form of 'observations' that include unreferenced direct and indirect quotations from her discussions with teachers in schools. I discuss a number of these observations below.

The first group of 'observations' relate to the issue of ethnicity and social harmony, vis.

> 10.3 It was the intention of the writers that the four characters would be identified as, two Sinhala, one Tamil and one Muslim from their names. When asked why they had chosen two children with Sinhala names, writers said this was because they represented the majority of the population.
>
> 10.4 However, in discussion teachers said that the name Meena could be chosen by Tamil or Sinhala families. This would mean that the ethnic representation could be interpreted as three Sinhala and one Muslim or Tamil. In contrast a Tamil teacher in a plantation school said he was happy with the representation because he interpreted Meena and Nazir as both being Tamil and therefore representing 50% of the population.
>
> 10.6 The messages about ethnicity should be clear. If it was not to show the differences, then why were names associated with ethnic origin chosen? ...

> 10.7 When asked if this book addressed issues of ethnicity, religion or social harmony, the writers said, no because a conscious decision had been taken to remain neutral; not to offend; not to 'differentiate' between the children; not to raise these issues as there were 'no problems'. The books showed 'everyone lived happily together' and depicted them all as friends. Identifying differences would, in the opinion of the writers promote disharmony.
>
> 10.9 The decision to remain neutral is not consistent with MEHE reform, nor with the ERA [Environmental Related Activities] curricula and is indicative of a wider 'culture of avoidance' that is evident not only in the education system, but throughout society. Although some may interpret this as 'respect' for one another, there must first be understanding.
>
> (British Council 2000a:25–26)

There are a number of puzzling things for me about these observations and I shall discuss two here. The first is connected with the issue of names for the characters. One could argue that there should perhaps be no ambiguity in the choice of names if equitable ethnic representation is to be assured. However, these names were chosen by the writers themselves, and the Tamil names, in particular were checked first with Tamil staff members of the National Institute of Education. Should not the wishes of those most directly involved be respected? The consultant herself puts forward contrasting views from teachers about these names. It is interesting to note that she seems to privilege the views of the majority over the views of a minority community member. If a Tamil teacher is happy to see his community to be proportionately over-represented in the book, is this not then an example of the positive discrimination that the consultant advocates elsewhere in her report? We should also note that, since the publication of the book two years ago, there have been no complaints from members of any ethnic group about these names. (See below also for other teachers' views.)

The second puzzling thing for me relates to the issue of social harmony. I should say directly that I believe the report author's observation in 10.7 that the writers intention 'not to raise these issues as there were "no problems" ' may be misconstrued (British Council 2000:25). As the quotation following shows, the comment relates to the writers' desire to depict a society in which the children lived together with 'no problems' and not that Sri Lankan society itself was without problems (see also 'Teachers' perspectives' below). No-one living in the country could possibly put forward that view, yet the way the consultant has written this observation may give that impression. The issue of a 'culture of avoidance' will be taken up again below, but suffice it to say at this point that the writers' desire to remain 'neutral' is consistent with ministry reforms — the authors are simply not marking out different ethnic groups at the beginning of this course. Later themes in the Grades 4 and 5 books (as the consultant knew from the syllabus available to her) would deal with issues of difference — via themes of 'festivals', 'folk tales' and 'my country' which are related to the content of the ERA theme of 'We the Sri Lankans'. This could be more easily done once it had been established that the characters all lived in peace and harmony within the same society. Again, see below for teachers' contrasting views on the books and social harmony.

The second group of 'observations' I wish to focus on relate to individualism, togetherness and social harmony, and have implications specifically related to primary English language teaching methodology. These are:

> 10.12 Nevertheless there is an implicit sense of harmony throughout the books, children are playing together, going on outings, having birthday parties, animals are fishing together, in fact as one teacher explained it is a fantasy book, throughout the children seem to be living in paradise.
>
> 10.13 Of concern is that throughout the text the book promotes individualism for example: I am; I play; I like; I eat; I read; I drive; My suster; My mother (in Sinhala children would always refer to 'our Mother'). As one of the writers said, 'children are egocentric' and 'at this age only think about themselves'. But should we be encouraging this?
>
> 10.14 There is little interaction between the children. They play together, sing, picnic together and attend birthday parties, but there is an absence of the notion of sharing, understanding and working together. There is working together on P.47 when the children wash their clothes and again when cutting and mending clothes on P.53. The word 'we' appears on few occasions and once is 'spoken' by the animals.
>
> (British Council 2000a:26)

The consultant herself acknowledged that she was not an ELT or primary teaching expert but, curiously, chose to ignore the advice given to her by members of the project team and the book writers who are. Had she accepted this advice, she would have taken on board the notion that it is quite usual to focus in the initial stages of teaching on the self, then to move out to family and friends, to the home environment, and from there to the wider environment — as the topic progression in the syllabus clearly showed.

It's even more puzzling, however, that whilst recognising in 10.12 'an implicit sense of harmony throughout the book' the consultant still maintains that 'there is little interaction between the children'. (To illustrate, a sample page from the Grade 3 book, cited by the consultant is included at Appendix 1.) I find it difficult to comprehend the notion of 'sharing, understanding and working together' that is meant here, especially as she immediately contradicts herself with two examples contrary to her own conclusion! It is almost as if the consultant feels it incumbent upon herself to find fault with a book which does not match her own ideas of what an English textbook should be like, and, perhaps, she is attempting to place adult expectations and interpretations on to material which is essentially for children, and the primary purpose of which is to help them to learn a foreign language (without negating the importance of the social messages the book inevitably conveys).

Let me deal with a final 'observation' from this report.

> 10.21 Most of the poor in Sri Lanka live in rural areas, where about 80% of the population live. Although considered by some to be 'less urban' than the 'English for Me' series of books it replaces, *Let's Learn English* has an urban bias with untypical rural presentation.
>
> (British Council 2000a:27)

When developing the book we were naturally concerned that it should appeal to children in all parts of Sri Lanka, and not just the urban middle-class. The consultant's perception did not match our own or the writers' and, in an attempt to assess the book more objectively, an audit of illustrations and text was commissioned. This was carried out by a consultant resident in Sri Lanka who had had extensive experience with a UK publisher. The audit contrasted with the views of the social development consultant, as we can see from this extract:

> There are numerous illustrations showing the rural countryside of Sri Lanka. When houses and shops are depicted they are invariably in a semi-rural setting. For example on pages 17, 43, 44, 50, 64, 68, 69, 73, 74, 84, 87, 105, 108, 109, 117, 127. The only exception to this is on page 63. This shows a small street with a tarmac road and pavements with parked cars and motorbikes.
>
> (Primary English Language Project 2000:1)

How should a project react when it has such divergent views on one of its outputs from outsiders who are both 'experts' in their fields?

Perhaps at this juncture I should make clear that I am not discussing the social development consultant's report in such detail simply to rubbish it. There were many instances where the consultant had constructive recommendations to make, particularly with respect to the more systematic sensitisation and training of teacher-trainers and textbook writers in multicultural issues and social harmony. Nevertheless, the fact remains that a professionally respected social development consultant produced a report which seems to have analysed a textbook in a manner which is both contentious and ill-informed. I shall attempt later to 'reconcile perspectives', but let me say here that from this particular experience I would conclude the following:

It is as important for social development consultants who are contributing to education projects to have substantial experience in education at the level and of the subject in which they are being asked to advise as it is for them to be experts in the field of social development.

The mantle of 'consultant' does not confer de facto objectivity. We all have our own biases and these need to be acknowledged at the outset. In this case it seems as if the consultant had her own preconceived notions of how 'social harmony' could be promoted in Sri Lanka through textbooks, had insufficient educational knowledge or context sensitivity, and then included comments in the report which do not stand up to scrutiny.

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Connected with the previous point is that we must recognise the dangers inherent in placing adult expectations and interpretations upon a book designed for use by young primary school children.

Expertise built up in projects over extended periods of time needs to be listened to and respected; short consultancy visits (in any area) cannot hope to provide this in-depth knowledge, though they may bring valuable fresh perspectives.

Professional expertise from the publishing industry, which has its own well-developed mechanisms of bias monitoring, may be as useful to a project as that of a social development consultant; the two should perhaps be combined.

To explore this last point further, let us now examine the perspective of a textbook designer who has worked with the PELP team on *Let's Learn English.*

A textbook designer's perspective

To begin this section, I shall simply quote extracts from the report of another expatriate consultant, a textbook design specialist who had been brought in to develop skills and expertise amongst project DTP staff in this area. This consultant had made a number of visits to the project and was familiar with the book production process from its inception. He had access to the social development consultant's report and chose to make some comments on it.

> I question the writer's [i.e. the social development consultant's] assertion of urban bias in the Grade 3 artwork. My abiding impression is of a very green and tree-covered land. Ultimately, as in most coursebooks for young children a 'fantasy world' has been created by the illustrator, which draws on reality but is never and can never be an exact replica. A comparison between Let's Learn English with the Oxford Reading Scheme, the most popular reading scheme in UK demonstrates this point.
>
> Perhaps this is an area where personal perceptions will always differ. I wonder, too, whether the concepts 'urban' and 'rural' are constrained by European preconceptions. Many areas in Sri Lanka outside the designated 'towns' are densely populated and quite heavily built-up. Are these areas 'urban' or 'rural'? To say 80% of the population live in rural areas (as the writer does) is misleading at least ...
>
> The issue of 'image', e.g. society prefers to see children wearing socks in the books — even if this does not conform to reality, is important, and cannot be ignored by coursebook writers, illustrators and publishers in any part of the world. Books can help a little to promote a better society, but if they step too far outside society's constraining perceptions, they risk being rejected, regardless of the quality of teaching they represent.
>
> Current (intellectual?) fashions to reflect the ethnic variety of a society in school publications in order to bring about social harmony, ignore the enormous constraints on the artist's ability to portray them — especially in ways that do not

> offend through stereotyping. Another example of this fashion is shown in a coursebook for Uganda, where there is a requirement (donor-led?) to show in the illustrations the ethnic variety of Ugandan society, i.e. to distinguish between northern ethnic groups and the Baganda, etc. I do not believe any illustrator can do this successfully without recourse to either unacceptable stereotypes or to inappropriate 'traditional' dress/jewellery/facial decoration ...
>
> Finally, some critiques of textbook from a 'social' perspective overestimate, perhaps, the power of books as well as schools and teachers to 'change' society. Surely the most important factors which distinguish a 'good' textbook from a 'bad' textbook are to do with narrower educational issues — Do the activities help children to learn? Are they at the appropriate level of difficulty for the children? Is there good continuity and progression built in to the course? Can the children understand the pictures? Do the pictures match and support the text adequately? Is the material laid out (designed) clearly on the page for children? And so on.
>
> (British Council 2000b:10-12)

It is clear that the social development and textbook design consultants hold views that are usually in opposition. The problems for the project, which is attempting to produce textbooks which will help young children to learn English, but at the same time help in 'the preparation for' social harmony, is that we have been given conflicting advice, and that both views have been circulated in reports to stakeholders. What are we, in the middle of this, to do? Perhaps the contentious nature of the issues means that inevitably there will be no agreement, and we must find our own way forward.

Certainly, it is significant that two of the issues singled out by the design consultant — those of 'image' and the conception of rural/urban — have been raised previously. For instance, regarding 'image', our illustrator, in portraying a man selling fish for people to keep in bowls or ponds, had drawn the fish in plastic bags suspended from branches of a tree — because this is precisely what one sees in Sri Lanka. But this image was rejected by our NIE monitoring team on the grounds that it set a bad example to children — live fish should never be kept in plastic bags but in much larger tanks of water, and it is this 'educational' albeit unrealistic image that you will see in the Grade 3 books (see Appendix 2). Problems with the rural/urban distinction had also come up when we were conducting project impact assessment surveys. RESC staff had offered these categories as a means of selecting representative samples for the survey, but it soon became clear that they lacked clarity of definition, for much the same reason that the textbook designer reported. Accordingly, the categories were dropped and we used the official gradings for 'type' of school.

In the final paragraph quoted, the design consultant shows he is actually in agreement with the social development consultant's caveat at the beginning of her report. However, whilst raising important educational issues which any textbook for children must address, he has perhaps failed to highlight the fact that the content of the book — what it is that the book is trying to teach, both directly and indirectly — is as important as how it is presented in the book itself. Content and design issues are not mutually exclusive but must work in harmony. This is the approach that we have tried to adopt — to reconcile perspectives. Perhaps it would be more productive for social development consultants to work together with textbook specialists, so that the resulting professional interchange will be not only of mutual benefit to the consultants, but also provide a project with recommendations that are well informed and implementable.

But so far we have concentrated on the views of outsiders, making only passing reference to those of the writers and the project team. What of the people who have had to use the books, the teachers?

Teachers' perspectives

Ideally I would have liked to include the perspectives of children on the books, but their views can at present only be represented through their teachers. The project has simply not had the time nor the resources to conduct a systematic survey of children's perspectives. Indeed, the teachers' perspectives represented below have not been collected systematically for the purposes of this paper. Rather, they have been gathered for other project purposes, and are recorded here with due acknowledgement of their limitations as representative data. Nevertheless, the fact that the data used here was not collected especially for this paper may also be a strength; in many senses it may be more naturalistic for not having been prompted for a particular purpose.

The first comment comes from a Sinhalese teacher who had sat a test to join our supplementary materials writing team in March 2000. As part of the test, teachers were asked to describe a page from the Grade 3 book in the form of an artist's brief. The pages chosen are in Appendix 1, to which reference has been made previously. The teacher wrote, *inter alia*:

> All [the characters] they are in a happy mood. Although all they are small children and animals, they show their friendship to the world. Even Kandu [the elephant] is a dangerous animal, it also join with the others like a small child. Ruwan, Pancha, Kandu, Meena, Kusum are sitting in polite way, but Nisar is not sitting properly. All the boys and girls are wearing shoes and socks. In present world, we don't see most of the children don't like to share and live friendly. But here we can see their unity ... Without peace we can't do anything, like our present situation in Sri Lanka. But this picture is a good example for the people, because they show their **unity** and **peaceful**. [Author's emphasis]

It is quite clear from this that the teacher views the scene as promoting peace and unity, one in which children share and live in a friendly way — in specific contrast, the teacher says, to children in the present world. It is also clear that the teacher sees this page as offering a positive example to children in Sri Lanka. According to the teacher, then, the book conveys positive messages about social harmony and about the moral values of sharing and co-operation amongst children.

The second teachers' perspective comes from teachers' in the conflict area. When the 'limited implementation' edition of the textbook was first published, although there was no time for effective trialling before the nationwide edition had to be submitted, we wanted it to be scrutinised by teachers from the minority communities, aware that the imbalance in the writing team might unintentionally have led to distorted representation or bias in the book. One of the RESCs in the conflict zone, Batticaloa, was asked to organise 'focus groups' of local teachers to study the book. They brought together a group comprising:

- 3 assistant directors of education (English); one for each zone in the district;
- 1 in-service advisor from Batticaloa zone;
- 16 teachers of Grade 3 from all 3 zones (10 Tamil and 6 Muslim);
- 40 teachers from all 3 zones attending a primary INSET course at the RESC (29 Tamils, 8 Muslims, 2 Burghers and 1 Sinhalese).

Amongst the comments made were the ones now to be expected about the attractive, colourful, clear pictures; the variety of activities; the teacher friendliness; the student-centredness and so on. Two other points relevant here were made:

> Relevant to contemporary life-style
>
> Good morals are emphasised throughout
>
> (Report on Grade 3 *Let's Learn English* from Batticaloa RESC, 11.04.2000).

Negative comments focussed on issues such as the lack of an accompanying audio-cassette, the weight of the books for small children to carry, some typographical errors, and some instructions lacking clarity. For our purposes here, there were also three comments relating to portrayal of ethnic communities, vis.:

> Other than the characters Nisar and the driver, a woman with a furdha (veil) will help to identify Moslem community clearly.
>
> Page 10 — Meena's mother, a Tamil, has no red pottu on her forehead.
>
> Page 7 and 80 — Nisar, a Moslem, is wearing a pair of shorts which is above his knees. This is a culturally sensitive matter. Moslems are expected to wear trousers that cover their knees.
>
> (Report on Grade 3 *Let's Learn English* from Batticaloa RESC, 11.04.2000)

There was also one connected with geography, which revealed a west-coast orientation in the book.

> Page 9 — Pictures given to convey the concepts 'morning' and 'evening' are not appropriate for children in the East coast because they are used to seeing the sun rising from the sea and setting behind the mountains. Teachers recommend a 'crowing cock' for morning scene, as in page 92.
>
> (Report on Grade 3 *Let's Learn English* from Batticaloa RESC, 11.04.2000)

From these comments, we can see once again, as with the case of the Tamil teacher cited by the social development consultant, that members of the minority community themselves have no problem in identifying 'Meena' as a Tamil. Had this not been so, they would not have wanted her mother to wear a 'pottu' on her forehead. Interestingly, there were no calls for Meena herself to be illustrated with a 'pottu'. Another take on language may prosper — not only are there reasons of social harmony but also socio-economic imperatives.

Whatever the fate of English in the wider community as a link language, it will be taught in schools, and the teaching of English has the potential to assist in creating the conditions for social harmony. As with all other subjects, writers of textbooks need to be particularly careful to ensure that materials they write promote positive images of all communities in the country, and do not show ethnic or gender bias. Textbooks must attempt to promote harmony between communities, although it does not exist in real life. This is not an easy task. We have seen that ethnic hostility in Sri Lanka is so deep-rooted that even the most seemingly innocuous of decisions regarding the age of a character can have wider ramifications. Textbooks for children may all too easily be subject to adult interpretations or misinterpretations. This has many dangers, as books in preparation may be subject to pressures for modification that are not grounded in sound pedagogy but in prejudice.

In the writing of books we have also seen from our experience in Sri Lanka, surely echoing experience elsewhere, that 'image' is crucial in representations that are placed in textbooks. Often the ideal, or the desirable, is what must be portrayed irrespective of the reality. This is perfectly understandable as textbooks — perhaps especially the illustrations — carry covert as well as overt messages. These messages must aid in the development of children's moral values, in the broadest sense. Kelly (1995) says, in talking of education for a democratic society (it should be noted that Sri Lanka is a parliamentary democracy, though sometimes a shaky one), that:

> Another aspect of this moral dimension of democracy ... is that it is predicated on a view of human beings as capable of moral behaviour, of altruism, of making 'evaluations' (Wollheim 1962), decisions reached in the light of the common interest rather than purely selfish.
>
> If this is so, it must follow that education in a democratic society must seek to develop these moral capabilities in all pupils. It is not enough, however, to expect them to imbibe these moral principles through some form of osmosis, or to develop these moral capabilities by some kind of natural process of maturation. Alongside our democratic practices, therefore, there must be a more positive attempt to induct them into the democratic moral system.
>
> (Kelly 1995:169-70).

But, as Kelly makes clear, a democratic society is not just one in which citisens vote, but one in which decisions are reached in the common interest rather than selfishly. It is this which is lacking in Sri Lanka, where the common interest often excludes a significant minority of the population. If English textbooks can help to develop in children moral values of respect and tolerance for others, then their use is worthwhile. However, as has already been noted, we must be realistic about what can be achieved. The task is all the more difficult when the socio-political framework of society does not mirror the images portrayed in the books (as a teacher's comment showed this came from teachers in a Tamil school in a tea plantation area. Notes on a visit to the school in March 2001 read:

> On visiting the Pakkiya Tamil National School in the Matale area, the Curriculum Adviser raised the issues of Tamil representation in the Grade 3 textbooks. This appeared not to be of concern to the English teachers who identified Meena as being the Tamil character in the books. The teachers felt that the use of a Tamil name was sufficient, and that possibly the use of a 'pottu' was only necessary for Sinhalese people to identify Meena to be a Tamil character.

The evidence, then, supports the interpretation that it is not necessary for the Tamil girl, Meena, to wear a 'pottu' and that, were she to do so, it would be to mark her out physically for the majority Sinhalese community — the very kind of markedness which we were trying to avoid.

In general, none of the teachers whose perspectives are reported here seemed to share any of the reservations articulated by the social development consultant. Indeed, we can now say, given our examination of the textbook designer's perspective and extracts from the audit of the book, together with the teachers' views, that her opinions are very much in the minority. Are they then to be completely discounted? What can we learn from this for the future?

Discussion and conclusion: reconciling perspectives, lessons from the Sri Lankan experience

Though recognising its ideological implications, I have avoided making any judgements on the desirability of teaching English as a link language between the ethnic communities in Sri Lanka. This decision is not mine. There are considerable arguments for teaching Tamil and Sinhala as second languages to the other community. In present day Sri Lanka, Clark's (1987:115) arguments for teaching a foreign/community language are particularly valid:

> The learning of any foreign or community language plays an important role in enabling children to grow beyond the ethnocentric limitations of their own linguistic and cultural group, towards a better appreciation of the multilingual, multicultural nature of the society and of the world in which they live. It can thus encourage an attitude of tolerance and of empathy towards a potentially enriching linguistic and cultural diversity.

But though the process of introducing Tamil and Sinhala as subjects in schools has begun at the level of initial teacher-training, the reality is that there will, for some time to come, be insufficient human resources to meet the requirements of the school system in this respect. We need to recognise too that, for some Tamils, Sinhala may be seen as the language of the oppressor, and for that reason alone, teaching Sinhala as a second language may not prosper. In contrast, the promotion of English as a link previously), for there is little active reinforcement in the wider society for the messages the books aim to convey.

In contexts such as Sri Lanka, great sensitivity is required in the preparation of educational materials for any subject. It will have been clear that I, for one, was less than impressed by the contribution to the process made by a social development consultant, whose perspective was not in harmony with either other expatriate consultants (both short and long-term), or with local teachers themselves, in particular those from the minority ethnic community. Short-term consultants' views may be useful but offer only one perspective. The status of 'expert' that comes with the title of 'consultant' must not mean that the views are given primacy. Social development consultants, as much as anyone else, have their own biases which must be recognised; we are all products of our own environments and filter our views through our experiences. I have already indicated that complementarity of perspectives rather than individual (and often oppositional) perspectives would be more productive for a project team attempting to produce textbooks in often difficult circumstances, but, nevertheless, in my view, it is the perspectives of those most intimately involved in the education system, teachers themselves (and the children they teach), whose views must ultimately be most carefully listened to.

Within the Primary English Language Project we have shown that 'difficult subjects' can be broached, provided that this is done sensitively. Let me give an example. At an initial training workshop for writers of supplementary readers it was thought useful to highlight features of the wider social context in which the books would be used by teachers and children, as these might then impact on the stories in the readers. Our curriculum advisor asked groups of writers to produce mind-maps of the 'Sri Lankan Context' as an outsider might see it for the first time. In this way, topics both positive and negative were raised. Amongst the latter the effect of the civil war on society, as well as other social problems, such as single-parent homes occasioned by migrant workers, were clearly stated. (See Appendix 3 for two examples of these mind-maps.) The 'culture of avoidance' of which the social development consultant spoke can be challenged, provided that the approach is appropriate to the context.

Achievement of 'social harmony' in Sri Lanka is still a far distant dream. Let us hope that the work in which the Primary English Language Project has been engaged will, at least, help teachers and children in schools to take the first steps on the path towards transforming that dream into reality.

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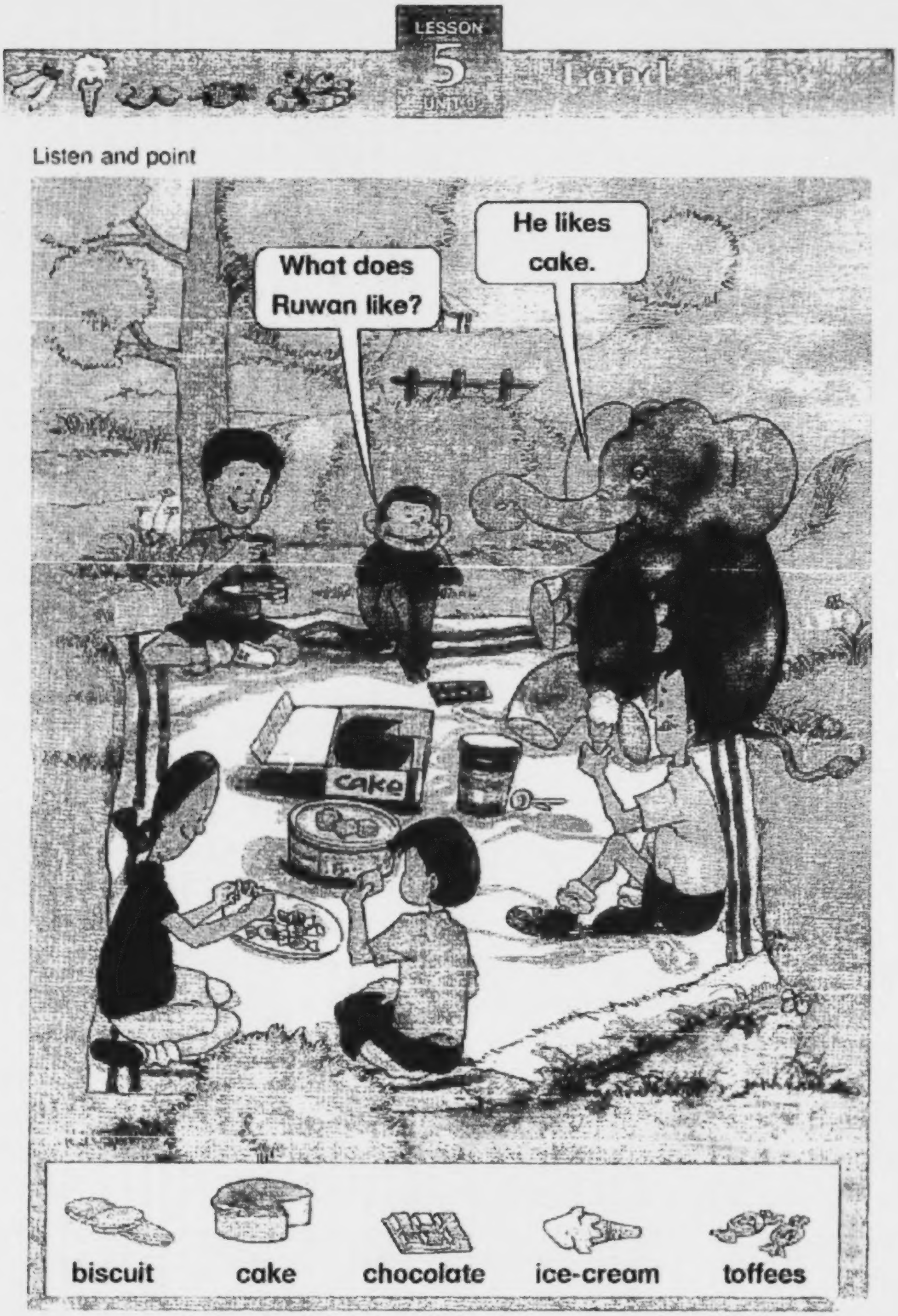
Appendix 1: Sample page from Let's Learn English, Grade 3



LESSON 5 UNIT

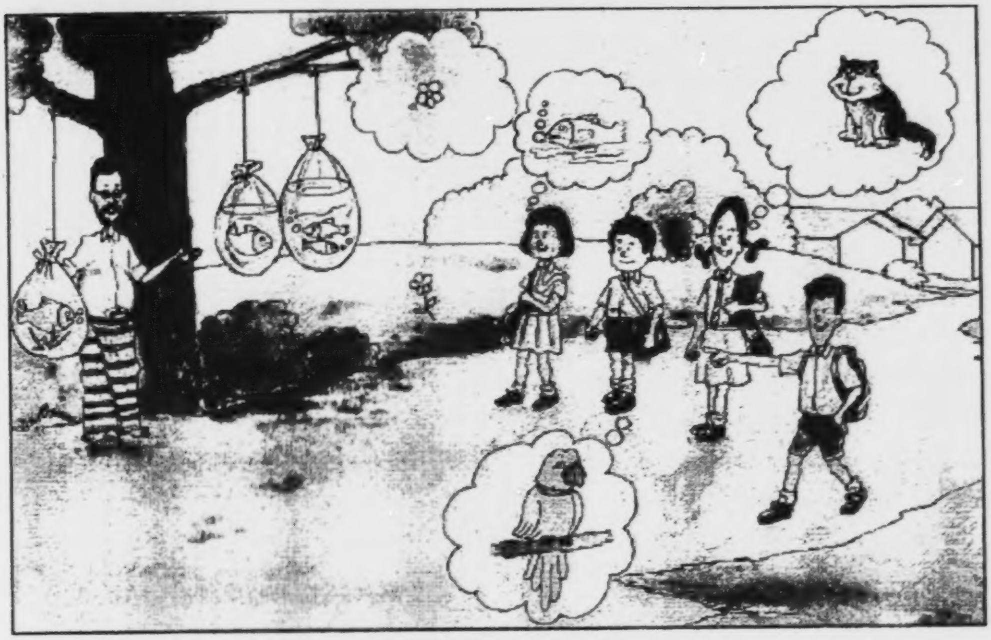
Food

Listen and point

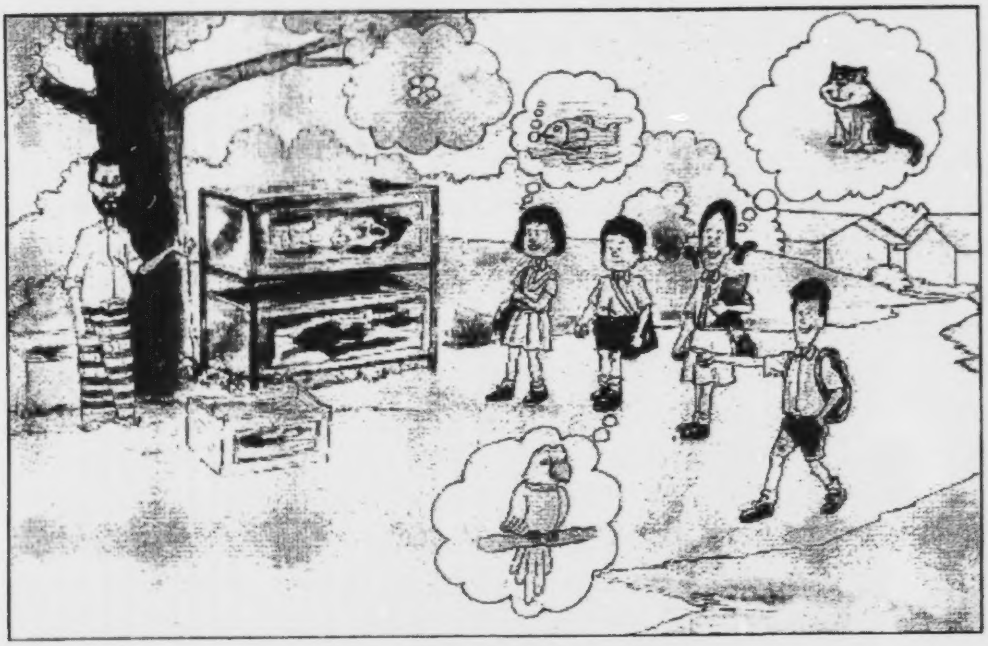
What does Ruwan like?
He likes cake.
Cake
biscuit
cake
chocolate
ice-cream
toffees

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix 2: Contrasting images from Let's Learn English, Grade 3



Undesirable image



Desirable image

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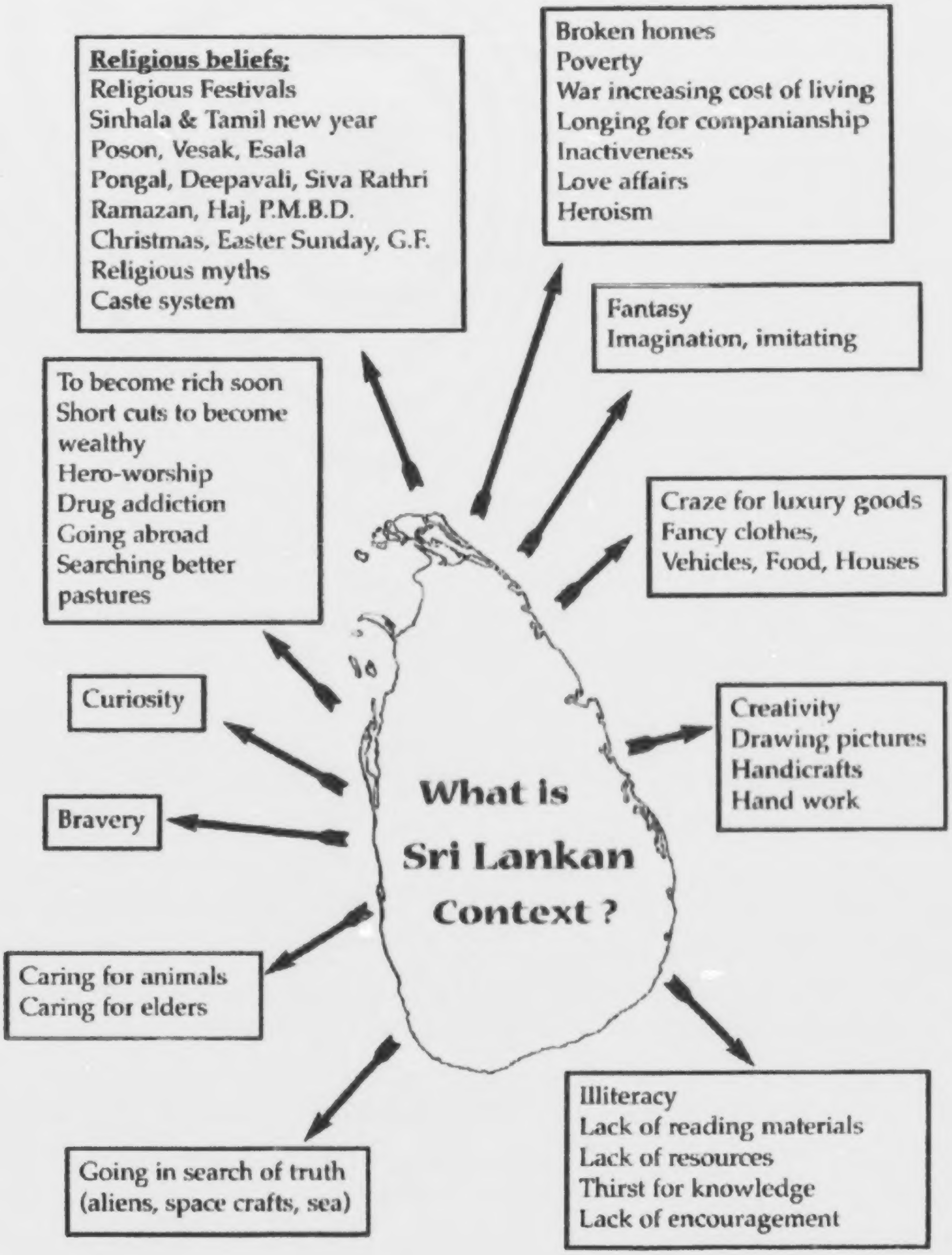
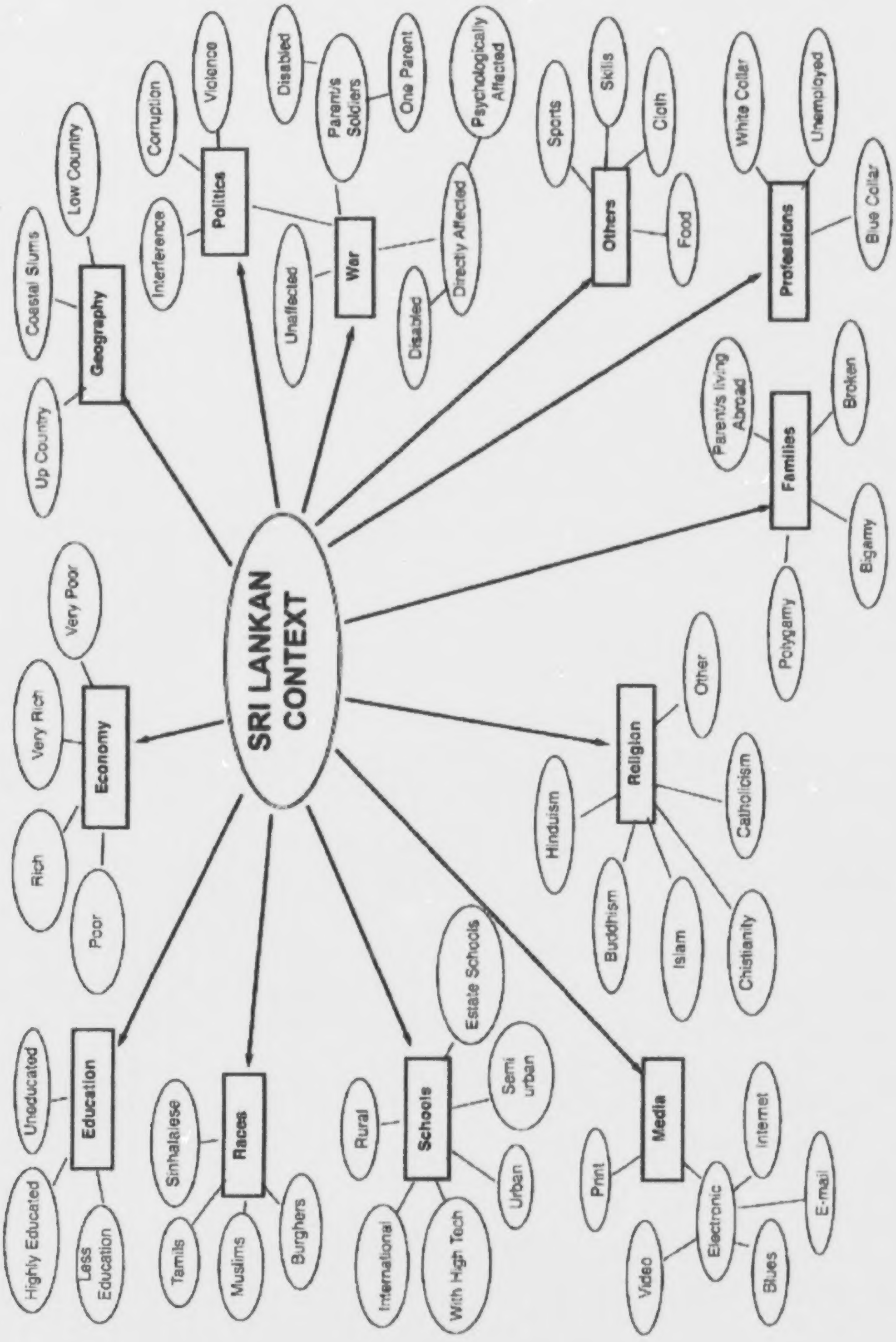
Appendix 3: Sample "mind-maps" for the Sri Lankan context


What is Sri Lankan Context ?
Religious beliefs;
Religious Festivals
Sinhala & Tamil new year
Poson, Vesak, Esala
Pongal, Deepavali, Siva Rathri
Ramazan, Haj, P.M.B.D.
Christmas, Easter Sunday, G.F.
Religious myths
Caste system
Broken homes
Poverty
War increasing cost of living
Longing for companianship
Inactiveness
Love affairs
Heroism
Fantasy
Imagination, imitating
To become rich soon
Short cuts to become wealthy
Hero-worship
Drug addiction
Going abroad
Searching better pastures
Craze for luxury goods
Fancy clothes,
Vehicles, Food, Houses
Curiosity
Creativity
Drawing pictures
Handicrafts
Hand work
Bravery
Caring for animals
Caring for elders
Going in search of truth
(aliens, space crafts, sea)
Illiteracy
Lack of reading materials
Lack of resources
Thirst for knowledge
Lack of encouragement


SRI LANKAN CONTEXT
Geography
Up Country
Coastal Slums
Low Country
Politics
Interference
Corruption
Violence
War
Unaffected
Disabled
Parent/s Soldiers
One Parent
Directly Affected
Disabled
Psychologically Affected
Others
Sports
Skills
Cloth
Food
Professions
White Collar
Unemployed
Blue Collar
Families
Parent/s living Abroad
Broken
Bigamy
Polygamy
Religion
Other
Catholicism
Chistianity
Islam
Buddhism
Hinduism
Media
Print
Electronic
Internet
E-mail
Blues
Video
Schools
Estate Schools
Semi urban
Urban
With High Tech
International
Rural
Races
Sinhalaese
Burghers
Muslims
Tamils
Education
Uneducated
Highly Educated
Less Education
Economy
Very Rich
Very Poor
Rich
Poor

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13 Multilingual literacy and development: success in a difficult environment

Margaret Hill

The Democratic Republic of Congo is notorious for corruption, poor economy and civil unrest. In addition, there is a complex linguistic situation, with more than 200 languages spoken as mother tongues, 4 national languages, and the official language of French. On the surface, this does not look a very fertile ground to plant a program for literacy and development. Yet this has happened with some very remarkable results.

Background situation

Geography and description of the Ngbaka people

There are over one million speakers of the Ngbaka language that is classified as a Niger-Congo — Adamawa Eastern — Ubangian language. The Ngbaka people live in the northwest corner of DRC in an area about 180 miles east to west, and about 120 miles north to south. They live mainly in villages scattered in forested areas in the southern half and in savannah in the northern half. The administrative centre of the area is Gemena which since the wars, now has a population of about 20,000. Traditionally, the Ngbaka were hunters, but now they are farmers with the main food crop being maise and the main cash crop, coffee.

The Ngbaka are a closely knit group. There has been less fragmentation of the traditional social structure than is often seen in Africa today. The Ngbaka are divided into seven clans, and everyone, even young well-educated people, still know their clan. They are the largest group in this part of DRC, have a strong sense of self-identity, and traditionally have been aggressive rather than passive.

History of DRC in last 30 years

From 1965 to 1997 DRC, which was then known as Zaire, was ruled by a one party state with Mobutu Seke Seko as its head. There are some general events during that time that have affected all aspects of life in DRC up to the present:

1973: Mobutu introduced 'authenticity'. Basically, this reflected the desire to de-westernise the country. Two of his actions at that time had far reaching effects: a) he took over all the schools from the churches and missions who had run a large percentage

Tunisie
Maroc
Algérie
Libye
Egypte
Rio de Oro
Mauritanie
Mali
Niger
Senegal
Gambie
Guinée Basau
Guinée
Burkina Faso
Tchad
Soudan
Sierra Leone
Cote d'Ivoire
Ghana
Nigéria
Ethiopie
Liberie
R.C.A
Cameroun
Togo
Benin
Uganda
Kenya
Somalie
Gabon
République Démocratique du Congo
Congo
GuinéeE
Ruanda
Tanzanie
Burundi
Angola
Zambie
Malawi
Mozambique
Namibie
Zimbabwe
Botswana
Madagascar
Swaziland
Afrique du Sud
Lesotho

of the them up to that point, b) he seized all the businesses of ex-patriots and handed them over to Zairians.

The result of the first was a catastrophic drop in the standard of education, and four years later Mobutu handed back the schools to the churches. But by that time the infrastructure had been almost destroyed, and most equipment commandeered by government officials. The education system never really did recover from this, and there is a marked difference between the educational ability of those in school before 1973 and those after that date.

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The result of the second was a rapid deterioration in the country's economy. Michaela Wrong, in the book, *In the Footsteps of Mr Kurtz,* wrote:

> To quote just a few World Bank statistics, Congo's economy has now shrunk to the level of 1958, while the population has tripled ... By the end of the century the government's annual operating budget for what is potentially one of Africa's richest states was dipping below the daily takings of the US superstore Wal-Mart.

1990: The Cold War had been an important factor in African politics from 1965 to 1990. One of the major reasons that the western powers supported Mobutu and poured money into his coffers, was because he was viewed as a bulwark against communism in Africa. 1990 marked the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of communism in Eastern Europe. From this point onwards the western powers were less prepared to prop up Mobutu, or to give him further loans. From 1991 onwards, one crisis followed another in Zaire, while the economy continued to deteriorate.

1997: By this time Mobutu was dying of cancer, and a rebel force had begun to move rapidly across the country, led by Laurent Kabila. In May 1997, Kabila entered Kinshasa, while Mobutu went into exile and died soon afterwards.

1998-2001: In July 1998, another rebel force supported by Uganda and Rwanda started to take over the north of DRC. Kabila went to other African countries for help, and at least eight other countries became involved in the conflict. In January 2001, Kabila was killed by his bodyguard, and his son, Joseph Kabila took power. The present situation is an uneasy peace with many foreign troops still in the country. The area in focus in this study is presently under the control of the rebel chief, Jean-Pierre Bemba (who happens to be an Ngbaka), supported by Uganda.

Linguistic situation in the Ngbaka area

Ngbaka is spoken by about 1.5 million people as their mother tongue. The trade language of the area is Lingala. This language is used in the large centres where people from various ethnic groups congregate. It is the mother tongue of a limited number of people who have parents from two different ethnic groups. It is the language used in commerce when Ngbaka people meet other language groups. In the 80s and early 90s, Lingala was a very important part of life for many Ngbakas. They enjoyed listening to music and news on the radio, it was used in the school system, and it was the language of the army. Many churches also conducted their services in Lingala.

The present situation is quite different. There are very few radios in the area, and those who do have them can only tune into international services like the BBC or RFI. There has been a fair amount of benign ethnic sorting into geographical areas. In times of crisis, people return automatically to their home areas where they can farm. As a result, there is much less need for an Ngbaka person to communicate with other language groups for commerce. The whole road and transport system has broken down, so few people try to travel beyond their village. The education system is nearly non-existent. The present group of soldiers in the area are more likely to speak Swahili or even English, than Lingala. Since the Ngbaka Bible was printed in 1996, many churches use only Ngbaka in their services. Lingala music is still much enjoyed, and it is certainly in use in the larger towns today.

French is the traditional language of education. At an early stage in the adult literacy program, the participants asked to learn French. The reason given was that no-one would consider them educated unless they spoke some French. It has always been used in the later years of primary school and in secondary school.

Educational situation in the Ngbaka area

At the time of independence in 1960, there were primary schools in most villages. (There are about 1,500 villages). Many boys went to school for at least 3-4 years, but just a handful of girls. In the 80's perhaps 50% of the children were in school, including maybe 40% of the girls. Many only remained for 2-3 years though, and the quality of the teaching was such that they left school still illiterate.

By 2001, very few village schools are functioning, except for the 70 schools in the Ngbaka program. There are functioning schools, both primary and secondary in the larger centres. No teachers' salaries have been paid since 1996, so parents pay the teachers to teach — in essence, all schools are now private schools. There has not been any form of functioning adult education provided by the government, at least since 1978. Some missions and NGOs have provided training in such subjects as agriculture and health.

Outline of program

The program came into being at the request of the local churches. The churches now provide the only functioning infra-system, as will be explained later. All are free to attend the classes. The student progresses through six stages as described below. The first three are adult literacy, the second three, adult education.

Stage 1

They learn to read from a booklet with the first four lessons only. Once students can read these booklets, they are allowed to buy the primer. Learning to read and write Ngbaka is taught using a basic reading primer. Halfway through the primer, the students begin to read a health book, and so begin to apply their knowledge to everyday life, while also continuing with the primer.

Stage 2

The students gain more fluency in reading Ngbaka by using a post-primer story book, a folk story book, and two booklets of Bible stories. Also, they continue to read and discuss the health book. They begin to learn to read Lingala, the trade language, using the *United Bible Societies' Easy Reader* series. The teachers' book for this stage has further writing exercises and arithmetic lessons.

Stage 3

The students complete simple Bible studies using a workbook with some passages from the Ngbaka New Testament. This stage also includes an agricultural book to read and discuss, which covers animal husbandry and growing crops, like beans and soya. There is further reading in Lingala, and a beginning book in French which teaches oral French for the few situations where the students might actually need to use the language. The teachers' book contains more writing exercises and more arithmetic, including such items as the recording of family income and keeping the church accounts.

Stage 4

Students use a more detailed Bible workbook with study outlines on various topics. They complete a workbook on geography which starts its study with the village and finishes with the world. There is more Lingala reading. The students study a book teaching simple French grammar using a story in each chapter as the starting point. They also complete an arithmetic workbook, covering practical topics such as learning to calculate the price of items to make a certain profit, and basic arithmetic rules such as the multiplication tables.

Stage 5

This stage includes a Bible study book on people in the Old Testament. There is a history book in which there is a large section on the history of the Ngbaka people, and world history from an Ngbaka perspective. There also is a more advanced French book, and an arithmetic book which is mainly concerned with weights and measurements. There is also more Lingala reading.

Stage 6

There is a Bible study book on topics of the Old Testament, and a book teaching political systems found in the world. (There is no mention of DRC!) There is a French book covering the remaining points found in the usual DRC school curriculum, and an arithmetic book teaching a variety of practical applications to everyday life. In addition, there is a creative writing book to encourage the students to become authors in Ngbaka.

Looking at language use in diagram form:

	Ngbaka	Lingala	French
Stage 1	▨	|||	|||
Stage 2	▨	//	|||
Stage 3	▨	▨	//
Stage 4	▨	▨	▨
Stage 5	▨	▨	▨
Stage 6	▨	|||	▨

▨ = reading and writing // = oral only ||| = not used

Development as part of adult education

A variety of development projects were started in conjunction with the literacy program for three reasons:

- To provide a way to put new agricultural methods taught in the agricultural book into practice.
- To help improve the general standard of living in the villages.
- To provide some benefit for the teachers who felt they should receive some reward for teaching the classes.

The original suggestion for development projects came from Christian Aid. In addition to the local village projects, an attempt was made from 1988 to 1990 to help the full-time supervisors set up regional development projects that would ultimately generate money for their salaries. The initial regional projects involved breeding pigs, and were a complete failure. The local village development projects were functioning in about a third of the villages with varying degrees of success. At that time they were told by the supervisors that they should have a development project, but not much help was given with setting it up.

The present situation is that tools (such as spades, axes, machetes, and hoes) are being provided as funding permits, where there is an existing development project. Projects functioning at present include the breeding of animals (goats, chickens, guinea pigs, and cats), the growing of crops (beans, corn, peanuts, and melon seeds), and various cottage industries. Some examples of the cottage industries include the making of soap, bamboo furniture, and chalkboards, and the pressing of palm nuts for oil. It was found that breeding pigs and rabbits did not work, because rabbits appear to be vulnerable to local diseases, and pigs have caused too many problems escaping from enclosures and destroying local crops.

Various experts in the area have tried to develop new ideas and methods. At a recent meeting of literacy supervisors, the men drew up a list of types of projects that have succeeded or failed in the area — most, but not all, have been part of the Ngbaka literacy program at some time:

Success	**Partial success**	**Failure**
Goats		Pigs
Chickens	Intro of western chickens to improve stock	Rabbits
Guinea pigs (including intro of giant guinea pigs)		
Cats		
Training of dogs		
Fish ponds (tilapia)		
Corn		Soya (taste disliked)
Peanuts		
Beans (new intro in 1980 through literacy)	Oil press from drums — no drums to be obtained now	Oxen pulling carts (not part of the literacy program)
Melon seeds		Donkeys (not part of the literacy program)
	Making of soap (needs caustic soda which cannot now be obtained in the country)	Spinning cotton into cloth (too labourious)
Making native salt		
Use of plants as medicines		
Growing palm trees for oil	Fruit trees from Australia — 3 of the 7 types planted are now well spread in the area.	

Primary and community schools

In 1993, some of the education authorities approached the expatriate advisors to the Ngbaka literacy program and asked for help to upgrade the primary schools in the area. The presenting problems were as follows:

The children beginning school in the rural areas did not speak the language of instruction, Lingala. This resulted in a very high dropout rate (70% by year 3), and also children who did stay in school still could not read with understanding when they completed 6 years. This was tested in three schools by two of the advisors. It was found that in class 6 only 5% of the children could read a simple text in Lingala and explain in Ngbaka what they had read.

The schools had almost no books. Even the teachers were often teaching from notes made in their notebooks. Not even chalk was available in every case. The teachers were demoralised. They were being paid very small salaries, erratically. (From 1997 no salaries have been paid.) They felt that people did not appreciate their efforts to continue to provide education for children.

There had been a government decree in 1990 allowing for mother tongue education so this was taken as permission to start some pilot schools. Three were begun in 1993, and in 2001, there are 70 schools in the system. The children in the 3-year program vary in age from 6 to 14 years when they begin. (The adult program takes students from the age of 15.) The program is as follows:

Language

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Ngbaka reading and writing	X	X	X
Lingala oral		X	X
Lingala reading and writing			X
French oral			X
French reading			X

Subjects taught

These have been restricted to 8 plus extra activities, as follows:

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
Pre-reading	X		
Teacher reads aloud to class daily	X	X	
Reading	X	X	X
Writing	X	X	X
Arithmetic	X	X	X
Religion	X	X	X
Health	X	X	X
Agriculture			X

Additional activities are singing, games and manual work — mainly working on the teachers' or the school farm. Inspectors visit each class at least once a term, and tests are given at the end of the year. A league table of schools is then circulated. Teacher training is held each September at the beginning of the school year, in four centres. Schools can apply to join the program and are chosen by a central committee which consists of the top government education officer, three inspectors and three school directors. Many more schools apply than can be accepted.

Community schools

There are a number of villages that have never had schools, but are too far from any existing school for children to attend. This has been accentuated by the wars, as many villagers have set up new villages away from the roads. A village may apply to the central committee to have a community school. They must have the support of the whole village, including the church leaders, and they must be prepared to build a

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classroom and support the teachers. The village chooses the teachers and sends them to the regular teacher training course. If they pass the test at the end, they are sent back with the books needed to start the school.

Funding

Outside funding has been obtained for this program to supply the following:

- printing of books — sets are placed in schools and will not be replaced for five years;
- teacher training courses — food and accommodation;
- chalk for the schools;
- money to help the inspectors visit the classes ($100 per person per year);
- t-shirts to be given to teachers who have successfully taught for the year, at the annual teacher training course.

Results of program

In 2000, 78% of the children tested passed the reading test, 65% the writing test, and 80% the arithmetic. Writing continues to be a challenge due to the lack of paper and pencils. Many of the tests last year were conducted outside with the children writing with sticks in the sand.

The schools that have been in the program for a number of years have found they need to radically adjust what they teach in classes 4 to 6, as now they have children who can already read. The dropout rate has diminished markedly, and the morale of the schools and parents has risen greatly. This is not entirely due to beginning in the mother tongue, some of the improvement is a 'Hawthorne affect', but the question of the language use is strongly relevant.

NGO

In 1994 a local NGO was formed, and in 1996, was registered with the regional authorities. It is called Sukisa Boyinga — End Ignorance. There are 12 members of the board of this NGO representing all the major players of the area. The members are all the people involved in the literacy project, right down to an ordinary student in a village class.

Initially the NGO was set up primarily for the Ngbaka program but now is including other programs from surrounding languages.

The goals of the NGO as described in the statutes are:

> Translation: Sukisa Boyinga has as objectives:
>
> — to make progress in the struggle against illiteracy
>
> — it is non political, and so independent of all political parties and trade unions

— it is the main spokesman for the literacy program when dealing with donors and other people interested in developing our communities

— it reserves the right to pursue any other activity which promotes these aims, as far as possible.

This NGO is taking over more and more responsibility for the running of the program. The president, with the coordinator of the literacy program, has recently spent two months in Ghana. This was partly to help them study other functioning programs, and partly to improve their English. More training is still needed, particularly in English and financial management. The English is needed in order to help them communicate directly with donors and other international agencies.

Language use in motivation and growth of program

Motivation in students joining the program

A researcher visited the Ngbaka area in 1996 and studied motivations for literacy acquisition. The results of this study were published in the journal *Educational Development*, 17,1:101–112, 1997. The reasons for joining the Ngbaka literacy classes in descending order of importance were:

Desire to read the Bible in Ngbaka
Pride in the Ngbaka language
Wanting an education to make up for lack of earlier school opportunities
Wanting to improve life style
Wanting to help others
Wanting to gain knowledge in general
Wanting to be able to keep correspondence secret from others.

The first three accounted for 80% of the replies. The first two were clearly connected with language use. Students are able to join the classes at any stage up to stage 4. Many semi-literates join at stage 2 with the desire to read their own language for the first time. Even Secondary school graduates join at stage 4 with the same desire.

The initial use of Ngbaka in the program

As already noted, the first class is conducted completely in Ngbaka, with no use of the trade language. This has been found to encourage the enrolment of totally monolingual people. This is particularly relevant for women in the rural areas who rarely speak much Lingala. Unfortunately, this now also applies to many young men due to the wars in the area cutting off communication beyond the village to a great extent. Lingala literacy classes had been held through the years in the area (particularly the '80s), but many women had been unwilling to attend. This resistance was reduced when the classes began in the mother tongue.

The use of the mother tongue in the early years of primary school has had a similar effect. Any child with normal intelligence can now benefit from the program rather than before where only the very bright children could cope with learning two things at once — a foreign language and learning to read. In addition, the fact the children can share what they are learning with their parents, helps to enhance community involvement in education. Adult classes encourage better attendance at the local primary school, but also an Ngbaka program in the primary school increases attendance at the adult class.

Use of Lingala

Lingala is introduced in class 2. According to the existing knowledge of Lingala of the students, they may begin with oral Lingala, learning it as a foreign language, or they may begin reading a simple story book. The motivation to read Lingala has waxed and waned according to the political situation in the country. During the period when Mobutu was president, there was a lot of importance attached to Lingala, which was the language of the army. At that point, almost all the students were well motivated to learn Lingala. Since the fall of Mobutu, the language has become less important, and even for a short period, forbidden to be taught. In addition, due to the lack of communication with non-Ngbaka areas during the wars, the knowledge of the language has diminished in the last four years.

From an educational point of view, it is a good second language for people to learn, as the orthographies of Ngbaka and Lingala are quite similar. It also theoretically opens up a wider choice of literature, though in fact at present, little is available for sale.

The use of French

There is a clear dividing point between classes 3 and 4. Classes 1–3 teach basic literacy, and at the end of class 3 a student has all the skills needed for village life as it is at present. Classes 4–6 are adult education, and cover the same material as the primary schools, though adjusted for adult needs and interests. The ordinary student living in an Ngbaka village has no real need for French. About the only possible scenario in which he would hear French spoken is where a stranger comes and asks for directions, but this is quite unlikely at present.

Originally, the program did not consider it necessary to teach French, but it became clear that it was a strong felt need. In the eyes of many people in the region, no-one is educated until they can speak at least a little French. Because of this, a French book for oral usage was introduced into class 3, and is very popular. This takes 12 situations where the student might just possibly need to use the language, and teaches them conversations to memorise. These lessons include talking to strangers, soldiers, a doctor, the primary school director, a government official, etc.

In class 4 the student starts seriously studying French, including grammar exercises, and the teachers of this stage and beyond must be capable of teaching French at this level. Quite a number of students leave the program at the end of stage 3 as they feel they have learned all they want to know. This is particularly true of women over 35.

Finishing the French successfully at the end of stage 6 — and the other subjects — does open up the way for a younger student to go on to secondary school or other forms of further training. It also genuinely enables them to read a wider selection of literature. At present though, many people are trying very hard to find ways of learning English! This is partly because of English speaking soldiers in the area, and also because the highly educated leaders are realising it would open up more of the world to them.

General use of language in the program

The use of languages in the literacy program reflects to a large extent the existing use of language in the community. EG Everyone speaks Ngbaka, so all begin in Ngbaka. Some people need Lingala for commerce etc so classes go on to learn Lingala. A few people want to learn French, so a smaller number go on to study French.

Development aspects and language use

The village committee which supervises the development projects of the literacy classes is central and important to the integration of development into village life. These committee meetings are always conducted in the mother tongue. If not, some important leaders, like the traditional chief, would be excluded. It also makes it more likely that the villagers will see the project as a normal part of their lives, and not a temporary import from outside.

A further development has been the setting up of small micro-enterprises, funded by loans from a revolving fund. Any group of 5-10 people in the literacy program, whether students or staff, can form a group, and submit a proposal for a project. A committee of literacy directors choose which ones to fund. Stage 1 project receive $100 only, but this is often enough to buy land or animals. Groups have paid back the loan and made profits of between $20–$60. If the money is paid back on time, then the same group may apply for a stage 2 loan when they receive $200. This is enough to buy a sewing machine or a hand mill, for example. If a group does not pay back its debt, then no other project can be started in that region. This has resulted in NO unpaid debts so far, in spite of the war. In line with research conducted elsewhere, groups of women generally do better than groups of men.

Because the group may submit the initial request and later reports in Ngbaka, there is no discrimination against new readers or women in general. This language use has helped make this aspect of development more accessible to all.

Reasons for the growth of the program

Growth of centres, teachers and classes, followed by growth of student numbers in classes

1. The great increase in 1988 signalled the moment when the population realised that 6 stages leading to a primary school leaving certificate would be coming.

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2. The drop in '91–92 was due to an external curb on funding, resulting in the need for a moratorium on class 1s for the year.
3. The drops in '95–97 reflect the collapse of the economy of the country.
4. Most surprisingly, waves of civil war that swept across this region between 1997–2000 seem to have had little effect on the enrolment.

Some of the reasons for the growth of the program are as follows:

Flexibility

This program grew from a small start without anyone masterminding the plan. It took on the shape desired by the people concerned in the program. The start of each level and to some extent its duration are determined by each individual class, according to their local needs, farming patterns, etc. The class meets three times a week but the day and time are chosen locally. This gives a high degree of local ownership. Each village chooses its own development project with some help and advice from their full-time supervisor. This helps them to fit their project into local conditions and needs.

In terms of the languages used, these can also be adjusted if language use also switches in the environment. It would be possible to remove Lingala for example, or substitute English for French, though the latter would involve a massive re-training of the teachers for grades 4-6.

Use of existing stable structures

The only functioning institutions in DRC today are the churches. Ninety percent of the population of the area consider themselves at least nominal Christians, and in the average village, just about everyone would feel free to visit the church for funerals, etc. There are three major churches: Catholic, found in two diocese, and two very similar Protestant denominations, one found in the east of the area, one in the west. Right from the beginning of the program, the classes were based on the local church. This has had a number of advantages, including:

- a stable group of people able to choose the first teachers to start classes;

  availability of buildings to hold classes;
- a control system already in place that would discipline teachers for inappropriate behaviour;
- source of well motivated learners who are already somewhat used to

  meetings in a formal setting, particularly helpful in the early days of the program;
- a structure that is not at all likely to change in the way that governments change;

- anyone is free to go to classes whether they go to church or not. The teachers are strongly discouraged from pressuring people to attend church. Many villages have both a Protestant and Catholic church, and here they are expected to work together, not having separate classes. Today in DRC, these institutes are at the heart of the village.

Outside funding

This has definitely been an element in the success of the program. Due to the state of the economy, funds are needed for certain essential items. At present, the parts funded from outside are as follows:

Essential — no other solution possible at present

Printing of books which are then sold at a very subsidised price;
A motor bike for the coordinator, bikes for the supervisors, parts and fuel for these — the area is slightly larger than Switzerland;
Chalk for the classes — no satisfactory local substitute has yet been found.

At present necessary but maybe not essential in the long run

Salaries for the coordinator, 23 supervisors, an administrator, a book-keeper;
Yearly caps for the literacy teachers;
Money to highly subsidise the purchase of pencils, pens and exercise books;
Administration costs, both for the basic program and the NGO;
Help with the teacher training regional seminars (contribution of one goat and 2 kilos of sugar per seminar);
Means of book production locally, e.g. a duplicator plus paper;
Tools to help with development projects.

The cost of the program annually is about $100,000, so with 50,000 students this is only $2 per student, but makes all the difference. Cost is sometimes cited as a reason not to use the mother tongue, but in fact this program is cost effective.

Lack of other educational provision

This undoubtedly has some affect on the large numbers coming into the program. Anyone who wants any sort of education has to come into the Ngbaka program at present. A number of teachers have told us that they became teachers because they felt the need to go on learning and using books. It is to be hoped that this lack of educational alternatives does not continue.

Conclusion

Dr Clinton Robinson and Elisabeth Gfeller (1997) say:

> Many literacy programs around the world have found the multilingual nature of the local context to be a reason for drop-out rates and for failure ... Multilingual realities are evident to any with eyes to see — what has been missing is the willingness to design literacy programs on the basis of actual community use.
>
> [This program] shows how this can be done — the relative use and different functions of the three available languages are reflected in the design of the program, both in the materials and in oral instructional practice.
>
> (p. 298)

Literacy and development are certainly helped by the three languages used in the present program. It is also flexible enough to be able to change or drop these languages to continue to reflect the local language usage.

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14 *In the Field:* inter-cultural communication through radio and other media

Kaz Janoski & Monica Janoski

The idea for the radio series, *In the Field*, derived from a desire to communicate the findings of research being carried out, by technical and social scientists working in development, to a wider audience than is usually reached through media which are usually used for dissemination. The series, and the booklet and websites which go with it, were conceived and carried through as a collaboration between two organisations, the BBC and the Natural Resources Institute of the University of Greenwich.

The NRI is one of the most important centres for development-related research in the United Kingdom, consisting of over one hundred natural and social scientists working in a wide variety of fields, from pest management to ethical trade, mostly in very poor communities around the world. Most of the work done at the NRI is related to the use of natural resources, although increasingly, work is being done which relates to health as well. This is related to the fact that there is a growing emphasis in development on taking a more holistic, and more long-term approach to understanding and tackling problems which people face in their livelihoods — what is called a 'sustainable livelihoods' approach by the UK Department for International Development. At the BBC, the department which collaborated on the making of the series, is BBC English. This department covers English language teaching, but also makes content series which require careful attention to language in order to reach audiences which do not have English as their first language.

The NRI's agenda: reaching a broader audience

> The series *In the Field* has given researchers from NRI and our partners in developing countries the opportunity to share with a world-wide audience the lessons arising from our work in some of the poorest communities of the world ... It is hoped that the series will, through promoting greater awareness and learning, encourage individuals, communities, local leaders and policy-makers alike to reflect, debate and act upon the issues raised for the benefit of poor people.
>
> (Adrienne Martin, Leader, Livelihoods and Institutions Group, NRI)

Much of the research done at NRI is funded by the British government, but there is increasing funding from other sources, such as the European Union. Donors which fund development-related research, and indeed the staff carrying out the research, are very interested in effective dissemination of its results, so that the purpose of the research — reducing poverty and tackling livelihood problems faced by poor households around the wold — is achieved. However, this is sometimes easier said than done. While many NRI projects — and similar projects run by other institutions of the same type — are successful, with positive results achieved which benefit the communities with which they work, the fruits of these projects often stop at local level. Dissemination of the results is often found to be difficult. At best, results are published in professional journals and they often 'gather dust' in libraries. This is because academic researchers are driven by institutional forces to publish in ways and places which are oriented more towards other researchers in their own, sometimes narrow, fields, than to wider audiences. Essentially, simple messages of good practice are not presented from a human angle, but in dry opaque chunks of text, using professional jargon rather than everyday language.

Apart from the inaccessibility of the actual publications, the type of language used in professional publications is difficult to understand for an audience which does not know the field. This is true both in relation to scientific style and language, and also to what might be called 'development-speak', which is heavily laden with jargon. Thus, it is particularly difficult to reach the ordinary people who will actually benefit from the research. This is a problem of which those engaged in development-related research are very aware, but one which is difficult to overcome. One of the most important obstacles is the need to translate the results of the research into language which is accessible to non-specialists, including those who are directly affected by its results — beneficiaries at the local level — who may not have a very high level of education.

For the NRI, the opportunity to collaborate with the BBC on the making of *In the Field* was an exciting opportunity to reach 'real people out there'. Through this series, there is the potential for reaching a worldwide and varied audience, most of whom are non-specialists, and many of whom are likely to be potential direct beneficiaries of this kind of research, or to be working at village level in capacities which mean that they are involved professionally with potential beneficiaries — for example, as teachers, health workers, or extension workers. The expertise of BBC English in tailoring language to suit an audience which does not have English as a mother tongue, meant that on a linguistic level it should be possible to ensure that as broad an audience as possible, in terms of knowledge of English, could be reached.

In development aid circles there is a growing emphasis on actually communicating directly with beneficiaries, and on their participation in conceptualising and implementing new development initiatives, rather than these being entirely shaped by outsiders. This meant that the series fits in with current priorities for both the NRI and the UK Department for International Development (DFID), which provided funding for NRI's participation in the making of the series. In order to ensure that beneficiaries are involved in identifying problems which need to be tackled and how this should be done, it is important that those who participate should understand — and should have the opportunity to debate — what kind of work is currently being done, and what the possibilities and potentials are. This includes knowing about initiatives, both in their local area and in a more global context.

The global context is important because, although there are, of course, important differences between livelihoods and societies in different parts of the world, there are also fundamental parallels in the problems which are faced. It is interesting and stimulating for people facing a certain problem to know that people in other places face similar problems, which they are tackling in ways which might well be relevant to them. Because the BBC has a global reach, and has the potential to bring together people in very different parts of the world, it is a very good medium for disseminating the work NRI and institutions like NRI are doing, in order to inform, educate and stimulate thought and 'participation'.

We hope, through the series, to reach a broad audience, ranging from development practitioners to direct beneficiaries at village level, and youngsters at school and university who are studying subjects such as development and geography, including both those who have English as their first language and those who do not. We believe that the issues being tackled are of interest and are widely relevant, at different educational levels and in different parts of the world. Because of our desire to reach this broad audience, we felt that it would be important to back up the radio programs with printed materials, both in booklet form and in web format. These notes contextualise, expand upon and consolidate the content of the radio programs. They provide visual reference points which allow the listener to the programs to see the people and the places which are featured in audio form. Finally, they hope to stimulate thought and debate through their format, which organise the material in terms of thinking through the problem itself. There are two spreads included in the notes which are cross-cutting, dealing with the 'sustainable livelihoods' approach, and showing the importance of looking at specific problems in their broader context. These draw on and exemplify the contents of the 12 programs in the series.

The BBC's agenda: interesting & appropriately targeted educational programming

> The collaboration with NRI was an example of how we are trying to make programming more relevant, with its feet firmly placed 'on the ground' — or in this case *In the Field*. First, by working in partnership with an educational institution such as NRI we hope the radio series will have practical educational applications and will be used by teachers and professionals around the world. Second, by pooling resources with NRI and DFID, we've been able to offer *In the Field* in

> various forms — radio, online, and through print. Third, we hope that we are beginning to offer our audiences a little bit more of a learning journey, the opportunity not just to hear the series but to find out more about issues of the land and sustainable livelihoods.
>
> (Andrew Thompson, Education Commissioning Editor, BBC World Service)

The BBC welcomed the opportunity to become involved in a collaboration with the NRI because it was felt by the commissioners that the topics covered by the series would be ones which are highly relevant to the lives of a large proportion of BBC World Service listeners, and that the series would therefore be of great interest to them.

The question might be raised as to why a series such as this, about development, was commissioned through BBC English, rather than through a department such as the Science Unit, or Arts and Features. The key to the answer is a linguistic one. While the BBC World Service in general now recognises that the majority of its listeners are not mother tongue speakers of English, BBC English is the only department making programs for the World Service which assumes that all its listeners will fall into this category. It, therefore, has a key role in understanding and reaching many, and most of the people which *In the Field* wants to target.

BBC English, although it specialises in teaching English and in a number of other approaches to helping people deal with language more effectively, including bilingual programming and language maintenance, is also increasingly involved in content teaching, making programs on specialist topic areas such as business, science and technology and health, using controlled language and presentation to ensure comprehension but with the focus on the content rather than on the language. In other words, the language is a vehicle for the content rather than, as in other categories of programs made by the department, the content being a vehicle for the language.

In making this type of program, the department draws, as indeed do other departments, on expertise from outside the BBC. In the case of the series 'In the Field', this expertise was provided by NRI. While in the making of most content series by the BBC, outside expertise has in the past been provided on a consultancy basis, in the case of 'In the Field', there was a full collaboration between the BBC and the NRI, so that the accuracy of the material presented in factual terms, as well as the appropriateness of the presentation and approach, could be made as reliable as possible. The BBC is increasingly committed to setting up this kind of collaboration or partnership with outside organisations which have expertise, and/or networks which allow its programs to be reliable and accurate. The BBC states its mission now to be 'to provide quality programs through radio and online which are informative, entertaining and educational'. With the series *In the Field*, we hope that we have added an extra dimension — that of 'relevance'.

The form and content of the series and notes: using different media

There are twelve 15-minute programs in the series, originally broadcast once a week over a three-month period between January and March 2001. They are also available in Real Audio at the BBC website for the series.

Each program features one initiative in one place, which has set about tackling a problem identified as being important to poor people there. Most of these initiatives are research projects led by NRI staff, but some are not, including local initiatives set up by beneficiaries themselves. All have wider relevance to people in other parts of the world, since the problems which are tackled are ones which are important throughout the world.

The word 'participation' is an important one in the development arena. Whilst itself a piece of jargon, it encapsulates a common-sense approach to dealing with the relationship between people who share a common goal, but bring different types of expertise to reaching it. In working on *In the Field*, we have tried to stretch the concept of participation as far and as widely as possible — to include not only program-makers at the BBC and researchers at the NRI and in other countries, but also the local people who speak about their problems and the solutions to them though the programs. Indeed it is increasingly being realised that farmers make some of the best researchers. It is also true to say that their personal stories are ones which touch people who have not experienced the problems which they face, but whose interest and emotions can be engaged through such stories.

The programs are constructed around extracts from the interviews with local villagers and institutional researchers, as well as ones with NRI staff working on the projects. These are held together by a script which presents the 'story' of the problem, how it was identified, its context, how it was tackled (through a research/development project or a local initiative), and finally touching upon the global relevance and future. Where possible, villagers were interviewed in English, but since this was not possible in most cases we used the original extracts with voice-overs from individuals from the countries concerned, recorded in many cases at the same time as the interview was being conducted, as consecutive translation. We found that this was a very effective way of 'grounding' the interviews in the research site, something which would have been impossible if a native English speaker had been used.

On a practical level, there were a very large number of people who participated in making *In the Field* throughout the world. At the BBC, not only production staff, but studio managers were important in helping to shape the sound texture of the programs.

NRI staff working on research projects were key in identifying their instititional and village-level collaborators. Through their work, they had developed good relationships and trust with these collaborators. Grounded in this trust, they actually carried out much of the interviewing, generating the material which forms the core of the programs. These interviews formed the core of the series and the notes, extracts from them were the kingpins around which the scripts for the programs were constructed. They are intended to ground and bring alive the material presented, showing how problems being tackled affect real people, and how those real people feel about the way the problems have affected them, and about the significance of overcoming them. In order to enable NRI staff to carry out interviews, the BBC organised training at Bush House for those carrying out interviews, showing them how to use equipment and providing guidelines on carrying out face-to-face interviews.

As researchers who had, in most cases, rarely been asked to explain their work to a 'lay' audience, collaboration on *In the Field* was a learning experience for many NRI staff who worked with us on the series. In the interviews which we carried out with them, it was important to put across in simple, succinct terms the issue being tackled, and how this was being done, and this was not something which most researchers had had to do before for a non-specialist audience which does not know scientific and/or development jargon. In carrying out interviews themselves with local collaborators and villagers, they needed to be aware of the need to obtain not just factual information, but the emotional texture of what local people felt about the problem which their project was tackling.

For ourselves as the program makers, the task of structuring and framing the complex, multi-faceted content that we were trying to convey, and to cover all the areas that we hoped to cover — environmental best practice, scientific and technical innnovation, sustainable livelihoods — also involved a learning experience. One element of the program which was key in achieving this was the opening, which went through various iterations before reaching its final form: 'Welcome to *In the Field*'.

As is usual with radio programs made at the BBC, the programs are made as colourful as possible, and are 'brought alive' through punctuating and providing background for the interview extracts and script narration, using local sounds and music. Interview extracts and segments of the script are in manageable chunks, 'thought groups', since it is well recognised that radio audiences have a narrow concentration span.

The notes, which are available in both booklet form and on the web, at the NRI website, (http://www.nri.org/InTheField/) and the Livelihoods Connect website (http://www.livelihoods.org/info/linksevents_sub/linksevents_field.html), were written by Fred Pearce, who writes regularly on development-related scientific issues for the popular science magazine published in the UK, *New Scientist*. The notes are intended to amplify and contextualise the material presented in the programs, both re-stating it and providing new material which helps to clarify the content of the programs and the message being put across. Each program has a double page spread in the booklet. Each program spread is organised by headings which are intended to structure the information as logically and clearly as possible: Setting the Scene, Defining the Problem, Taking Action, Cast and Key Quote, Global Relevance and Thinking Points. While the notes do include clips from the interview extracts in the programs, there is less interview material here and more discussion of the issues. There is also an emphasis on bringing to life the people whose voices we hear on the programs with photographs, where possible, and details of where they live and what they do.

The notes are designed to be as attractive and accessible as possible, and to avoid a 'dry science' approach. They include paintings and painted bars done especially for the series by the designers of the booklet, Nell Greenhill and Rich Holman. There are photographs included with the notes of many, in some cases of most, of the local people who speak in the programs, as well as many other photographs taken locally. Almost all of the photographs included were taken especially for the notes by the NRI staff working on the projects. Each program spread includes a graphic which shows, in the form of a painting, a significant statistic relating to the problem being tackled. There are also maps showing the location of the project concerned.

The online version of the notes was designed by Rich Holman, and follows what is basically a BBC format. In designing it, we consulted closely with NRI website staff to ensure that it also fitted in with the NRI web format. We have tried to include as much of the visual material in the printed booklet as possible, while avoiding very large file sises which those with slow modems would find difficult to download. Each program has a page with some of the photographs on it, and links to the other photographs, the graphics and the maps provided in the booklet, which are in separate files. There are links to the audio of the programs at the BBC site from each page.

The scripts of the programes and the text of the notes were checked by NRI staff working on the programs as well as by DFID natural resources advisers working in the relevant parts of the world, for both the content and approach. Insofar as was possible, they were also sent out to be checked by collaborators in the countries in which the projects were being carried out.

Since we want to prompt feedback from listeners on the content and format of the programs and notes, we have included a loose feedback form with the booklet and a downloadable version of the form on the online version of the notes.

Communicating between cultures

Those we hope to reach through *In the Field* include a wide range of different categories: highly-educated and specialised technical or social researchers; development specialists; development workers at local level; local leaders including, for example, teachers; and ordinary people at village level. This is a very wide potential audience. Despite the profound differences between these different groups, they can all be said to share the goal of identifying and tackling problems in their livelihoods faced by members of households in rural settings. Without effective communication between these groups, these problems cannot be effectively tackled. This means there is a strong motivation for communication between them. This, indeed, is the basic rationale behind the series.

We did not aim to present cutting edge research to other technical scientists working in the fields which some of the programs cover, such as control of insect pests. Although the research which the programs present may well be cutting edge, it is not this aspect of it on which we are focussing. It is, rather, the way that technical research can be effectively used to help people to improve their livelihoods. While we do hope to reach technical scientists, this is in order to engage them in a dialogue on the need to understand and take into account the social and economic context in which their research will be used, rather than to introduce or debate the technical side of their work.

While the audience we hope to reach does of course include people working in the development field, we did not have the intention of engaging in academic debate in the field of development studies any more than in technical scientific fields. Although there is currently debate within the development studies academic community which touches on many of the issues on which we focus in the series and the notes, our aim was not to engage in this kind of debate.

The audience we hope to reach belongs to many different cultures. This is true in two senses. Firstly, we hope to reach people who live in different cultures in the usual sense of the word — who live in different parts of the world. Secondly, we hope to reach people who belong to what are effectively different cultures existing within broader national cultures. Illiterate or semi-literate villagers and academics working in development within one country may, in theory, speak the same language, but in effect they belong to very different cultures in the second sense of the word. These different 'cultures' exist in all nations and societies, throughout the world, which means that the barriers between them overlap barriers between those who have English and those who do not, making the situation quite complex in terms of who belongs in which 'cultural' or linguistic group.

We felt that using real human stories, allowing people to tell their stories themselves, would be an effective way of bridging cultural gaps. This allows the parallels between situations faced by the people who tell their stories and those faced by those listening to the program to be maximised through the generation of emotional empathy. Thus, even where situations are very different, similar emotions may be brought into play. Even listeners who are entirely non-agricultural can understand such emotions as, for example, fear, frustration, loss and love for family members, all of which are relevant ones to many of the problems which interviewees at village level face in trying to resolve problems focussed on in the series.

Direct and indirect communication through the series

For most of the programs in the series, the lead is taken by technical and social scientists who have been working on the research projects on which we focus. This means that, at one level, the communication we are aiming for is between these scientists and members of the other 'cultures' identified above. This level of communication was, as discussed above, the main driver for the making of the series.

However, the fact that we use extracts from interviews with villagers and local development workers and scientists makes the communication goal more complex. There is an explicit desire on the part of the UK-based researchers who have led in shaping the message being put across to include messages which local people, particularly villagers themselves, want to put across about the problem being tackled through the project, and its relative success. This is part of their participation in identifying and tackling problems, particularly where they have themselves been involved explicitly as co-researchers, as is the case with some of the projects on which we focus. Thus, to the extent that we have been successful in understanding and communicating what villagers say, using voice-over translations, the series and notes also achieve communication between ordinary local people affected by the problem being discussed and the other 'cultures' — including the scientists involved in the project, and other scientists who might become involved in similar projects.

Language and communication between cultures

Effective use of language was key in achieving the goal of communicating to the broad audience we hoped to reach. This was true not only in the most obvious sense, in that many people in the audience do not have English, the language used in the series, as their first language. It was also true in the sense that we hoped to achieve communication between different cultures.

Members of cultures in very different parts of the world may think in very different ways. Even if two people in different cultures both speak English, they may phrase things very differently. We needed to be aware of this and to try to put across what we were saying in a very straightforward fashion, without unnecessary complexity in the message itself. At the same time, we wanted the voices of local villagers and the way they wanted to phrase what they were saying to come across, too. We we were very aware of the need to both present what people were saying and to 'translate' it into something that would, we hoped, make sense to as many people as possible.

There was also the need to be aware of the fact that we hoped to reach members of different 'cultures' within one country. Here, there was also a need to 'translate' concepts, but since it would be unlikely that we would be able to understand and take into account the subtle differences between these 'high' and 'low' cultures, we could only try, here too, to present messages as clearly and straightforwardly as possible. The main linguistic difference between members of 'high' and 'low' cultures within one broader culture, however, would almost certainly be that the former simply knew more English than the latter. This brings us to the way in which we actually made use of English itself, on the level of basic grammar and vocabulary. We wanted to avoid putting off our more professionally qualified listeners while also catering for the linguistic needs of those listeners who did not have English as a first language, or who had a lower educational and professional level. We also needed to avoid 'talking down' to those who might need more linguistic help.

Since our aim was not to focus on the technical issues involved in the research projects we focussed on, we did not need to fully explain these. Thus we were able legitimately to avoid the use of technical scientific terms. We felt that it was important to do this, because we wanted to avoid using unnecessary technical terms or jargon which would be inaccessible to many listeners who might be interested in the issues being discussed, but who were unfamiliar with specialist terms even though they might be well educated generally. This included not only those who had lower levels of education, but those who were not familiar with the field concerned, whether it was a technical field or development studies as an academic field.

The policy we adopted was to use only technical terms which are really key and which need, in effect, to be taught to the listener, if he or she does not already know them, to enable him or her to understand the content of the program. Otherwise, we avoided a plethora of unknown terms. This meant that we did not expand upon the technical side of research, or use development jargon where everyday terms could be used instead. Where we did use words which would be unfamiliar either to those who did not have English as their native tongue, or to those who did not have the appropriate educational or professional background, we back-glossed these within the text rather than providing a separate glossary, introducing them in as natural a way as possible.

The fact that the series, and the notes, are in English does of course mean that the material is only accessible to those who know at least enough English to listen to the programs and read the notes. This limits its reach. However, the use of English does enable the global relevance of the issues debated to be brought out, since the series is being broadcast by the BBC World Service throughout the world. If it had been made in a less globally-spoken language this would not have been possible.

However, the possibility of translating the series into other languages for broadcast initially by some of the language sections at the World Service, is being discussed. This would mean that a much wider audience could be reached.

The content of the programs: taking a 'sustainable livelihoods' approach

In the Field looks at a range of different kinds of issues which affect the livelihoods of poor families. These include inequitable trade and ways of tackling this through ethical trade, the economic and spiritual importance of trees and forest, the need for healthy and productive livestock, the importance of relying on a variety of sources of income rather than just one — both in peri-urban and rural areas, control of pests of different kinds, and practising sustainable kinds of farming. Countries covered include: Ghana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, India, Indonesia, Ecuador, Bolivia and Poland.

The series and booklet takes as its baseline an assumption the more holistic approach to development which has been taken up in recent years by many aid donors. Specifically, it utilises the 'sustainable livelihoods' approach which has been adopted by the UK Department for International Development. This kind of approach is founded in what is a common-sense belief that the whole of a family's way of life and way of making a living, including the wide array of factors and elements which affect the way in which people interact with the natural environment around them, needs to be taken into account in understanding that way of living, or livelihood, in order to design ways of improving it.

Each of the programs looks at how a particular initiative has managed to find a way to begin to tackle a particular problem which families face in making a living — in a way which a) takes into account all the other things which family members do and how these can limit the possibility of introducing innovations, b) decreases vulnerability, and c) will not erode the family's livelihood in the future, thus ensuring that it is 'sustainable'. There is a focus on these broader issues in the cross-cutting parts of the notes, 'Access to Livelihood Assets' and 'Vulnerability, Complexity and Diversification'.

Future use of the series and follow-on series

As is indicated in the earlier quote from Adrienne Martin at the NRI, we hope that the series and notes will stimulate debate on the topics discussed and raise awareness of them, and that some individuals will be prompted to take action to tackle similar problems which their communities face. Although in its English form the series will only reach those who have at least some English, we hope that such local professionals as teachers, health workers and extension workers, will tell others about the programs and that this will widen the discussion of issues.

Needless to say, both the BBC Education Commissioners and the NRI are directly concerned with education, and therefore it is hoped that the material will be used in educational contexts. The topics and approach raised are, we believe, appropriate for use in a wide range of educational contexts, from secondary level geography classes dealing with development, to university undergraduate level courses in development studies and the training of extension workers. The educational use of the material is something which both the BBC and the NRI are able to pursue directly by identifying networks and institutions which might be interested in being involved in using the material. We feel that one of the best ways of raising awareness of the issues discussed in the series, and of stimulating people to pursue and tackle similar problems, is through the educational route. This is true both in developing countries themselves and in developed countries, in terms of increasing the awareness of development issues among children and the young. At school level, the content of the programs and notes would be potentially relevant not only at an abstract level, but also in developing countries in particular, for students whose families actually face some of the issues raised and/or who may themselves be able to act to tackle the problems through the doors which education may open to them.

The material is already being used by some universities, including Harvard, which have contacted us to let us know that they are doing this. We are currently beginning to pilot the material in secondary schools in the UK, and have contacted a number of institutions with which NRI has collaborated to ask if they would be interested in piloting the material in training extension workers or in teaching undergraduates.

NRI, the BBC and the UK Department for International Development have all expressed interest in building on the series. This relates both to the use of the current series in re-broadcasting, translation and in educational contexts, and to the making of a second, follow-on series. We are currently planning this series, for broadcast between April 2002 and April 2003.

For this second series, we hope to incorporate two-way communication between communities in different parts of the world, and between researchers and experts and members of these communities. This will be through a virtual debate, within the series itself, between communities in different parts of the world on issues which are significant to all of them, and also, if possible, an online debate following the transmission of the series. This latter would rely on enabling communities to have access to the Web as part of the project.

In the Field — a model for development-related program making?

Programs in which the focus is development-related research need to be able to translate specialist material for a non-specialist audience, but build on a basic shared interest on the part of the researchers and the listeners, and between different categories of listeners. Because development, broadly, is about tackling everyday problems which humans face — problems which are potentially meaningful to all humans — there is a strong potential for making programs which are of wide interest, as well as being educational in terms of raising knowledge and awareness of issues affecting very many people around the world. While it is true that some problems are only locally relevant, most, if framed appropriately, are related to broader problems which have echoes throughout the world.

It is important for this broad relevance of problems to people in many different cultures, both in different parts of the world and within a broader national culture (as touched on above) to be made visible and explicit. This means that lessons learnt in terms of best practice in tackling them can be drawn out and applied in different places. It also means that people in countries which need to take a role in funding development — 'developed' countries — are drawn into the debate, and made aware of the issues which are most important.

However, much development research — and indeed development projects generally — are often considered by the general public to be dry and difficult to engage with.

We have tried to begin to address this lack of communication in 'In the Field'. Some of the general points which have come out of the making of the series are:

Our experience has been that to communicate effectively between the different cultures mentioned above we needed to join the jargon-ridden narrative of the development or technical specialist with the human stories of the people who are affected by the issues, to create a new 'story', which is comprehensible to people who are neither specialists themselves, nor who have directly experienced the issue in the form presented. To do this we needed to avoid the jargon itself, as far as possible, and, on a linguistic level, to form empathetic bridges between the experiences of the people telling their stories in the programs, and those listening to them.

This is an educational series, with a focus, appropriately, on 'learning objectives'. However, this needs to be looked at closely in relation to development. It is not just information which is relevant, but also learning to understand other people's perspectives and experiences. To achieve an understanding of other people's perspectives, we come back again to the need for empathy. To enable a listener to put himself or herself in the shoes of a character in the program, an empathetic bond needs to be created between local people whose voices we hear in the programs on the one hand, and listeners on the other, building on the potential for understanding the common emotions which humans experience. This means using real human stories, and contextualising the audio material by providing appropriate audio-visual material, such as local sounds and music, photographs and paintings.

Audiences can be very diverse and yet share common interests and learning objectives. We feel that this has relevance to those who are potentially interested in development-related broadcasting. However, to achieve effective interest and communication, we feel that it is important to clearly identify the different elements of potential audiences for this kind of series, so as to be aware of their needs in terms of framing and constructing the content and message of programs, and also of notes if these are prepared. BBC audiences are framed in terms which are quite vague, and which do not categorise people in ways which are necessarily appropriate to development-related programs. The categories, 'learners of English' and 'aspirationals', for example, are both very broad and not the most relevant. A more refined, and development-related, set of categories needs to be constructed, based both on personal and professional reasons for interest.

We feel that providing material not only in one medium but in several is a good way of a) ensuring better comprehension and communication between cultures, enlivening and humanising the issues presented, and b) setting up a dialogue on the issues raised. The focus should not be just on the audience, but also on the communication process itself, which means identifying not only those communicated with, but also those communicating, and trying to incorporate as far as possible a two-way dialogue between them. There is particular scope in doing this through the use of printed and Web-based media, which allow for feedback and, in the case of Web material, online debate.

15 Language, development and political correctness

Psyche Kennett

Education and development policy shifts

In 1997, Britain's Department for International Development (DFID) made poverty alleviation through 'Education for All' its main educational aim, and committed £600 million to basic and primary education sectors. The previous government's focus on English language teaching was out. English for government officials was the first casualty. An easy target, it was seen as 'elitist', imperialist even, in its attempt to win hearts and minds for Britain. Primary and lower secondary school English language teacher training projects in Asia and Africa were a bit harder to knock, because they could be justified in terms of teacher training and educational management reform. But soon the very word 'English' in the project title became a liability, and narrowed the chances of renewal. 'I thought we didn't 'do' English anymore?' one DFID official was heard to remark on receiving a proposal to extend an in-service English project in Namibia.

DFID's policy shift did not help ELT practitioners who were already suffering from low self-image. English language teaching and teacher training in development has always struggled to distinguish its credentials above the backpacker culture of jip-joint language schools, typified most aptly, in the mid-nineties, by Phnom Penh's Banana School of English. Many practitioners stopped using 'English' in their job description or when talking about work. We became teacher trainers, methodology specialists, education advisers, we were 'in' educational management reform ... in fact, anything to avoid the 'E' word, anything to avoid the condescension, when we said we were English language teachers, to be told, 'Oh, I did that once'.

The need to survive in this anti-English environment sent policy-makers and management companies on a scramble to justify English language teaching in terms of poverty alleviation. English language teaching has as much to do with poverty reduction as computers or the Internet do, but the fact that English is 'out' and 'bridging the digital divide' is 'in' shows up the shallow world of education policy in which we operate. The pressure to win bids and secure financing makes us bow to political correctness, and use the right terminology to get the thing we want. And we can all do that — we are, after all, experts in the English language. But 'Headway' just doesn't have the same resonance that HIV/Aids research, conflict resolution, gender equity or universal primary education have in the poverty reduction debate. No-one truly believes that projects like VSO's large English language teaching program at Junior Teacher Training Colleges in Vietnam have any bearing on poverty reduction. It seems foolish to try to gloss it that way, but gloss it they must, if VSO is to maintain English as its biggest output in the region, and secure funds for it from DFID.

Better, then, to learn to argue the inclusion of English language teaching and training in development on its own terms. Better not to pander to the politically correct, to try to be something we are not. For the inclusion of English in education development policy is neither about imperialism, nor about poverty alleviation. It's about access and it's about methodology — these are the terms we should stick to and be proud of.

Education policy and issues of ownership

How much does any recipient government want primary education inputs at the expense of technical education inputs or tertiary inputs or English Language? The donor agency's priorities may not be those of the recipient government and this seems particularly the case with English language. Because of parent and local government, pressure fuelled by the Hong Kong-Singapore success stories, the need to upgrade English language skills is high priority in Southeast Asia's developing countries. But the recipients can't have English even if they want it, because there are other things that the donor thinks are more important. And while the donor perceives imperialism in promoting the English language, the recipient perceives imperialism in the donor's 'Mummy Knows Best' attitude.

If a recipient government doesn't 'own' the education policy being promoted, they are less likely to sustain it. Issues of ownership and sustainability lie at the heart of the matter. The danger of development buzz-words such as these is that they inevitably return to haunt their perpetrators. Sithembiso Nyoni's article on 'Indigenous NGOs' (in Carmen 1996), warns against agencies who:

> ... try to help others, do not change themselves. They aim at creating awareness among people, yet they themselves are not aware of their negative impact on those they claim to serve. They claim to 'help' people change their situation through participation, democracy and self help, yet they themselves are non-participatory, non-democratic and dependent on outside help for survival.

When recipient governments are put in a position where they must choose one input over another, perhaps they would have more ownership if they had more control over choosing their 'suppliers'. This choice should be based on track record and merit. DFID might want to 'do' primary instead of English, but what if, due to experience, other donors handle primary education projects better, and Britain's real expertise lies in

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English language teaching? Why drop the thing you're good at to take up an unknown quantity?

English language teaching and teacher training projects raise further issues of ownership. British expertise in teaching English as a foreign language has evolved as an export commodity for foreign users, not second language learners, as in Australia and the USA. There is little likelihood of importing a model from Britain, because it's not a major school subject there. Contrast this with how the Americans 'do' English language teaching in developing countries — they import an English as a second language (ESL) model from community college classrooms in the United States, because it's the only model they have, and impose it on the recipient. The use of the ESL textbook *Mosaic* (1983) as the main English language textbook for the in-service BA degree course run by Can Tho University for lower secondary school teachers, is a classic example. The result is a culturally, linguistically and professionally inappropriate program.

Although university work in applied linguistics, educational management, and education and development underpins current practice, international TEFL is essentially skills training shaped by market forces. Its high quality as a 'product' is determined by the demands of its 'buyers', and is assured by international teacher training qualifications from professional groups, such as RSA/UCLES and Trinity. The pressure to meet the real needs of the learners presupposes a non-nationalistic model, because with every different country the product changes. The methodology incorporates this flexibility, with the means to adapt and change in order to best serve the client. Accrued to this is twenty years of experience in adapting international techniques and methodology to the 'difficult circumstances' of the development context; evolving ways of teaching and learning for large classes, resource poor environments, and mixed ability.

ELT practitioners and ELT project managers in development have the expertise to ensure recipient government ownership — not just through process but also through product — without the hegemony of 'how we do it in Britain', because we *don't* do it in Britain. Described in this way, ELT in development is exactly what Clare Short, Secretary of State for International Development wants: it's all about 'Making globalisation work for the poor' (HMSO 2000). The question is whether or not a British primary education model can achieve the same thing. The challenge DFID now faces is to ensure the same quality of inputs in its primary education projects as it had in its ELT projects. What it must not do at this stage is foist a British primary education model on recipient governments.

Globalisation and the new 'need' for English

'Eliminating Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor' is the British government's new (December 2000) White Paper on International Development, and restores some hope for ELT practitioners — even though there is only one reference to English in the entire document:

> English is emerging as a means of communicating internationally, but this does not pose a threat to the languages that are spoken in daily life in communities across the world. The risk of a global monoculture of values and aspirations is vastly greater if the developing world remains poor and marginalised rather than an equal and respected part of a rich international diversity of culture and language.
>
> (HMSO 2000)

Hard to say, with the way this statement is worded, whether or not English is really 'out' or 'in', but you can't read the rest of the document without assuming it has to feature soon with DFID promoting Internet access, entering global economy negotiations, information technology training, distance education, improved public sector performance, the spread of ideas and know-how, international transport, pro-poor research, and dissemination of skills in health and agriculture for developing countries. English seems to be on its way back in, even if it's through the back door. At least this gives ELT project proposal writers something less vague than poverty alleviation to base their rationale on. But ultimately, as with all non-practitioners, there is little understanding of the fact that ELT is more than just cultural content or access to the international forums on health, governance, education, environment, and trade. What English language projects have to offer, in addition, is a precise, effective, quality methodology for teacher training and materials production that can influence the way in which skills in health, governance, education, environment, and trade are taught.

Paying for the pendulum swings

Eventually, Vietnam will have to pay back hundreds of millions of dollars for its higher education, lower secondary and primary education project loans. This is just a fraction of what developing countries owe to the World and Regional Development Banks for education. A generation that didn't order the reforms, but will hopefully benefit from them, will foot the bill. But when you look at the design documents of, for example, the ADB Lower Secondary Teacher Training Project (2001) for Vietnam, you begin to wonder if the heavy price tag is worth it. The project activities include study tours, overseas methodology training, English language preparation for overseas MA/MEds, cascade training on return, and Web-based training materials. The English language preparation alone would take five years — the target group are maths, science, geography and history college trainers who have, at best, elementary level English themselves.

After years of sending college lecturers abroad on costly academic training in English speaking countries to do 'international' methodology and educational management courses devoid of application to specific school systems, and then watching the cascade become a trickle and then a drip, ELT projects have opted for in-country, non-lecture-based, home-institution-based, skills training. Having watched costly short-

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term consultants jet in and jet out, impose imported models on countries they never hang around long enough to understand, ELT projects have opted for long term, in-country consultants. And having commissioned first internationally inappropriate training materials, and then allowed badly written country-specific materials become institutionalised just because the process of writing them was more important than the end product, ELT projects now allow a realistic time scale for ensuring in-country materials writers first have the professional methodology skills themselves and then a lot of support from international professional writers (not just consultants who think they can write textbooks). Finally, having learnt that it's not the materials themselves, that will make a quality difference in learning or a behavioural change in the classroom, but that it's all about the way those materials are delivered, ELT teacher training projects have a realistic view of the limitations of the type of Web-based teacher training DFID's White Paper on Globalisation argues so hotly. The overwhelming importance of content through process in training for whatever discipline must, in the end, be achieved in the classroom, face-to-face. The digital divide becomes irrelevant.

These are the lessons that DFID learnt through their ELT projects from the late seventies to the late nineties. But their discrediting of ELT discredits a wealth of project management experience that goes with it. Knowledge has not been passed on. Lessons are becoming unlearnt. The lack of cross-over from ELT teacher training projects to other subjects teacher training in primary and lower secondary, is an ignorant and costly mistake. If DFID can't get it right in the same sphere — the school system — how will they attempt to get it right when they embark on the health, agriculture, IT and governance training advocated in their new policy document?

Seven important things about ELT in development

In short, it's important to resuscitate the image of ELT in development, and to have those arguments at your fingertips to counteract the dismissive, politically correct attitudes of education and development snobs. Here are seven important things to tell Clare Short, Secretary of State for International Development, next time you're invited to partake in one of her Development Policy Forums.

1. It's what parents and governments want — English by popular demand. You can't get plainer than that.

2. It provides access to higher education, Internet use, new skills in health, agriculture, governance and world trade — all the things advocated to make 'Globalisation work for the poor'.

3. It expands world knowledge, especially in insular school curricula, classrooms and textbooks. Often issues of equity, environment, health and safety and human rights can be broached in English in the school system before they can be broached in mother tongue classes — under the guise of 'British Culture' or the 'International Context' or whatever. But more than that, the

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learner-centred, task-based, communicative methodology which ELT uses promotes community skills, democracy, independence and self-access to information retrieval. It builds confidence, peer support and helps kids question authority.

4. It provides — through primary and secondary English language teacher training projects — a quick 'in' to introducing new approaches to training and educational management reform. ELT trainer trainers don't need to learn the mother tongue first or work with interpreters in the training room. As a result, pre-service and in-service models can be established much more quickly than in maths or science or primary training projects, and with the time saved there are more opportunities to duplicate the training model across the curriculum.

5. It's what we do best — it's a service we should be proud to offer. Honed by market forces and twenty years of good practice in developing countries, a methodology has evolved which makes international models work for the specific needs of developing countries, in terms of effective classroom management for teaching in difficult circumstances.

6. It has developed, over the years, a methodology for training (training teachers and training trainers) which is both thorough and precise. This methodology has a wide repertoire of training design, delivery techniques, task types, work arrangements, interactive materials and on-the-job supervi sion and feedback skills. Many NGO trainers get excited about participatory techniques for Rapid Rural Appraisal — don't be phased, it's just posh terminology for what ELT trainers have been doing for years, only a lot less sophisticated when you consider loop input, process ticks, cross grouping, to name but a few.

7. Most importantly, ELT methodology is generative, providing trainers with skills to train others in non-English fields. Even if DFID Education specialists haven't recognised its generative value, other agencies and even other departments in DFID have. DFEE (Department for Education and Employment) use ELT specialists to design and deliver literacy and numeracy programs while UNICEF, the US Marines, WHO, DFID Forestry specialists, ASEAN, and various ministries in Southeast Asia have all used ELT methodology specialists to train their trainers.

More sustainable policies for ELT in development

Just when many UN organisations decided that the sector-wide approach was not a good way to disburse funds, DFID decided to get into sector-wide approach. Just when DFID might grudgingly return to English for making globalisation work for the poor, AusAID are thinking of redirecting spending from ELT to poverty alleviation and governance. The lack of timing and the arbitrary nature of the pendulum swing smacks of whim rather than well-thought-out policy. So often the metaphor of 'throwing the baby out with the bath water' crops up when education policy is discussed. Education policy seems to work like fashion — marginalising past styles in order to 'sell' new styles in order to return to old styles. And yes, we should be wary of the potential conservatism of 'If it ain't broke don't fix it', but at the same time, it's important to support good practice, to record it, to let it inform other development projects. This can only be done if policy-makers are able to understand that ELT is as much about process as it is about content, and if those same policy-makers are willing to consider ELT as a 'grown-up', whose practitioners have a serious pedagogic contribution to make in development. .

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Vernacular literacy in community development: the Chong of Thailand

Kimmo Kosonen

Linguistically and culturally, mainland Southeast Asia is a diverse region. Hundreds of groups with their own languages and cultures live across the borders of five nations in the area. Exact numbers of the languages spoken in mainland Southeast Asia are difficult to determine, but available estimates indicate this diversity. The following are the estimated numbers of languages spoken in the region: Cambodia 19, Laos 82, Myanmar 107, Thailand 75, Vietnam 93 (Grimes 2000). It should be noted, however, that many of these languages are spoken in more than one country. Therefore, the total number of languages spoken in the region is smaller than all the above figures added together.

Nevertheless, all five nations have their strong majority cultures and national languages to which many minorities are exposed. Of the five countries, Thailand has been perhaps the most successful in tying the diverse ethnolinguistic groups into the majority society, and creating unity in diversity (Smalley 1994). Consequently, many minorities in Thailand are also assimilating into the mainline population. Until recently, the use of minority — or even regional — languages was prohibited in Thai schools. Political democratisation of the Thai society in the 1990s has allowed more space for the initiatives of linguistic and ethnic minorities to retain, or even strengthen, their identity. As a result, during the past few years some minorities have taken the initiative to act under the threat of losing their language and culture, and along with them, their self-identity.

Who are the Chong?

The Chong are an ethnolinguistic minority living in Thailand's Chantaburi province, Khao Khitchakut district in particular. The Chong language belongs to the Pearic branch of Mon-Khmer languages, part of the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family. The Chong population in Thailand is estimated at about 2000 people (Schliesinger 2000:71, Suwilai 2000:5). There are Chong also in Cambodia. The Chong population there may be several thousands (Grimes 2000:399), but in fact not much is known about this group. Therefore, a linguistic survey of the Pearic languages in Cambodia is needed.

In Thailand, Chong is clearly an endangered language. Many Chong children are no longer learning it as their first language. In addition, Thai, the national language, is gaining ground as the medium of communication in most domains. Consequently, many Chong community leaders are concerned, and they have requested assistance from the Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development (ILCRD) at Mahidol University in their efforts of maintaining and revitalising the Chong language.

Many Chong leaders have a strong commitment to retain the Chong language. They want, above all, to transfer Chong to their children and grandchildren. The community leaders, together with a research team consisting of ILCRD staff and students, are actively involved in the process of promoting the use of Chong. The means used include linguistic research and language development, e.g. creation of an orthography and production of literature in Chong.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of vernacular language, particularly literacy, in community development. The paper uses the Chong project as a means of describing various steps and strategies necessary in the process of developing a vernacular language. Further, the paper discusses the challenge and highlight experience encountered in the Chong project.

The reference to vernacular language use and vernacular literacy in this paper implicitly refers also to bilingualism and bilingual education. Although the focus of the paper is on vernacular languages, the author acknowledges that literacy in a small minority language alone is insufficient for survival in most contexts. In today's world, people speaking minority languages should be provided opportunities to learn at least the respective national language, if they so will.

Published articles and unpublished reports by Thai researches and graduate students provide long-term insights into the topic. In addition to the study of written documents, participant observation and informal interviews with various stakeholders — Thai as well as Chong — have been employed as research strategies. Most interactions in this regard have taken place by using Thai as the medium of communication. The author has worked as a part-time literacy consultant to the Chong project for about two years, mainly in terms of orthography development, literacy survey, literacy materials production, and teacher training. The responsibilities as a consultant have provided a role that is partly that of an outsider, yet providing sufficient inside information. Therefore, involvement in the project for an extended period of time has enabled a trust to develop with various stakeholders, particularly some Chong individuals.

Chong language development

Revitalisation of Chong is attempted mainly by means of a project on Chong language development. This section introduces the multi-faceted effort with a special focus on vernacular literacy. A literacy survey is currently being conducted, and once its results are available, in late 2001, much more will be known about the actual sociolinguistic and literacy situation among the Chong of Chantaburi. The issues presented below draw particularly from informal discussions with Chong and Thai informants, but also from written documents (Choen et al. 2001, Isara & Sirichan 1999a, 1999b, Kosonen 2001, Malone 2001, Solot 2000, Suwilai 2000).

There are many reasons for the decreasing use of Chong language, particularly the fact that most Chong children do not learn it as their first language. First of all, in the past, many Chong experienced discrimination by the Thai. For example, Thai and Chong children were not always allowed to play together, and in Buddhist temples, Chong novices were not allowed to read religious texts in Pali.

Additionally, during the past decades, many parents have switched to speaking mostly Thai to their children. The national education system is partly to be blamed for this. In the past, schoolteachers used to discourage the use of Chong at schools. Teachers punished students speaking Chong and requested parents to speak Thai rather than Chong to their children at home. They claimed this would help the children acquire better skills in the national language.

Nowadays, many children and youth are shy to use what little Chong they know. It is estimated that most Chong under 20 years of age have limited or virtually no knowledge of Chong, and many are more or less monolingual in Thai (Isara & Sirichan 1999a, Suwilai 2000). The language decline has naturally not taken place only due to the factors mentioned above, but is influenced by many other socioeconomic factors as well.

Nevertheless, the situation is not as dim as it seems. There are still Chong of all ages using the language for daily communication. Further, unlike in many rural areas of Thailand, most Chong youth have not migrated to the cities, but have remained, married, and found work in their home villages or nearby. Thus, many are still exposed daily to the Chong language and in the heartland of the Chong, they are not constrained to forget the language altogether.

Linguists have studied various aspects of Chong language before. Recording the linguistic characteristics of Chong language through academic research, however, does not sufficiently address the concerns of the Chong community in terms of language maintenance and revitalisation. Therefore, a need for language development and specific literacy effort in Chong has arisen.

To address the community concern the 'Project on the promotion of Chong language and culture' has been established. This multi-faceted effort has a community-based action research project as its core component. The research project is mainly funded by the Thailand research fund. The main responsibility of the project lies in the Chong language committee. The committee works on a voluntary basis and is made of about twenty community members, mainly middle-aged or older men. Local primary and secondary schools provide some support for the project, mainly in terms of facilities and collaboration in arranging teaching of Chong language and culture. ILCRD and SIL International provide technical support and minor funding for particular program components. The research team of the project consists of ILCRD staff, graduate students, and SIL consultants.

The roles of various stakeholders can be divided into two groups, executive and supportive. The Chong Language Committee and the research team have the executive role in the endeavour. Language committee members conduct most practical aspects of the work with the consultation of the research team. Yet, the research team does, on its own, certain technical aspects of the work, although the inputs of the language committee are also probed. Other stakeholders, such as donors, sponsors and encouragers take a supporting role. They provide resources and create conditions that enable action. In this regard local civil servants and government officials, teachers in particular, are very important.

Goals of the initiative

The general goals of revitalisation of Chong language are to record Chong language for the younger Chong and for future generations, and to encourage the use of Chong in daily life. The process of revitalisation is attempted on three fronts: linguistic research, awareness raising, and literacy activities, as displayed in Figure 1 below.

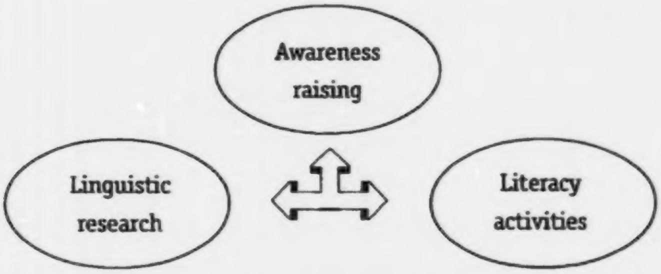

Figure 1: Components of the project on revitalisation of Chong language.

The three components are interrelated and activities of each part may not necessarily occur in sequence. Some parts may also occur simultaneously. Each component has various parts. First, linguistic research includes studies on phonology, syntax and dialects of Chong language as well as orthography development and production of dictionaries. Second, literacy activities refer to vernacular and bilingual literacy, including literacy survey, development and production of materials, teacher training, and operation of literacy classes. Third, awareness raising refers to community mobilisation and the promotion of the use of spoken Chong. All these issues will be elaborated upon in the next section.

This project sees vernacular literacy as an important way of 1) raising the status of Chong language, 2) increasing the use of Chong, and 3) transferring it to younger generations. Therefore, more specific goals of the literacy component have been stated as follows (Kosonen 2001:2):

By December 2003:

All Chong people (adults as well as children) speaking Chong and literate in Thai will be literate also in Chong and understand the importance of the vernacular for the Chong community.

All Chong children with some knowledge of Chong and literate in Thai will be progressing in learning Chong in oral and written forms.

An infrastructure will be established for making the literacy effort on-going in formal schools (for children) as well as nonformally, outside the school system (for adult learners in particular).

An infrastructure will be established for on-going literature production in Chong.

Strategies

The general goal of revitalising of Chong language is pursued through recording Chong language, culture and history through production of dictionaries and written Chong stories. Also important is to train people to use and produce such materials on their own. The orthography is seen essentially as a tool in the process of maintaining Chong language and culture (Suwilai 2000:9). Consequently, this process is expected to strengthen Chong identity and create an important precondition for general community development. The Chong themselves dream of the 'Center of Chong Education and Culture' to be established.

Linguistic research

The basis of all efforts in language development is linguistic research. Various researchers (e.g. Edmondson 1996, Huffman 1983, Theraphan et al. 1991) have done studies in phonology, syntax, and dialects of Chong. It is worth noting here, however, that all the studies on Chong sound system use the phonetic alphabet for writing the language. Therefore, these studies do not provide insights to the specific problems encountered when a Thai-based orthography is adopted for writing Chong.

Chong orthography development

A functional and sustainable orthography of a language is based on the linguistic analysis of the language, its sound system in particular. Native speakers' ideas about the sounds of their language, and the expression of these sounds by written symbols are also very important. In addition, educational factors, such as readability and the ease of learning, must be taken into account in the process.

Earlier linguistic research formed the basis of the 'tentative Chong orthography' (Suwilai 2000). This system was developed by a team of Thai linguists headed by Dr.

Suwilai Premsirat, ILCRD, Mahidol University in collaboration with the Chong community. After the linguistic team had suggested a tentative orthography, three orthography workshops with a strong participation of the Chong community were arranged, in November 1999, August 2000, and November 2000, respectively. In these meetings, the Chong and the linguists came to a consensus about fundamentals of the orthography. Minor modifications based on the use of the system were introduced between the workshops, and the adopted changes were then discussed in following workshops. By the end of the year 2000, most issues of which the team could think had already been tackled.

Soon after the second orthography workshop, the tentative alphabet was organised in the form of two posters — alphabet charts. In the beginning, all consonants, 22 initial and 13 final, of the tentative orthography were displayed on a large A2-sise sheet of paper. This poster was used in subsequent meetings with the language committee, and members came up with appropriate key words for each consonant. An appropriate word was expected to be picturable and easily known by Chong speakers. Later, pictures drawn by a village boy were added to the poster. The poster and the key words were examined, tested and modified regularly, and the final draft and choice of words were finished about a year after the process had started. A few months after the work on the consonant chart had begun, another poster, this time including 24 vowels and 4 distinct registers, was compiled the same way.

After the tentative orthography was agreed upon, the research team saw a need for an appropriate reading and writing test (Kosonen 2001). The intention was to either refine the alphabet or accept and approve the alphabet as the established orthography for Chong language. The basic idea of the orthography test was to determine the usability and readability of the tentative Chong orthography. The most difficult step in this process was to find suitable and relevant texts for the use of testing purposes. Thus, in all meetings with the Chong, the consultants encouraged language committee members to write short stories. In addition, the committee members were requested to write sentences based on the key words chosen for the teaching of the alphabet. In July and August 2000, a group of testers, Chong and outsiders alike, conducted the orthography test on a sample of about 40 women and men of various age, educational background, and home village.

The test occurred at three levels: 1) reading at the word level, 2) reading and writing at the sentence level, and 3) reading at the story level. In the test at the word level, the informants used word and picture cards to find pairs sharing the meaning. This test included about 40 words representing the whole sound system of the language. In the test at the sentence level, the informants read ten sentences of various stages of difficulty, and wrote four simple sentences. In the test at the story level, the informants read a short story and answered comprehension questions. After each stage, the tester asked the informants' opinion about reading and writing Chong using this system. In addition to the opinions, the tester noted down possible difficulties the informants encountered.

The test was limited only to those claiming to speak Chong and being able to read Thai. The purpose of the test was also clearly explained. At different stages, the tester explained the main differences between Chong and Thai alphabets, paying particular attention to the letters and diacritics representing different values in each system.

The final analysis and report of the orthography test is not yet finished. But, to summarise the results, it seems that the tentative Chong orthography is usable and learnable. All informants could read it, and most could use it for writing. The people who speak fluent Chong and have good Thai reading skills find the Chong orthography very easy to read, even when reading Chong for the first time ever. The people having difficulties fall into two groups: 1) people with limited Thai reading skills, and 2) people with limited knowledge of Chong language.

At current stage of language development, the standardisation of spelling is not yet really an issue. However, the project intends to address this question after a sufficient corpus of written Chong texts exist. The publication of Chong dictionaries, no doubt, will set an example of standard spelling forms, but regular and systematic revision of the orthography is of particular importance.

An important part of the revitalisation project is the production of dictionaries. Linguists at the ILCRD are in a process of compiling a standard Chong dictionary for academic purposes. In addition, Chong dictionary — the village edition — is under production. This book will facilitate the preservation of the language by strengthening the maintenance of the rich Chong vocabulary. The village edition will be produced for ordinary people to use. The development process is participatory. The members of the Chong language committee are collecting vocabulary on certain themes, and then discussing their contributions in monthly meetings. The committee has delegated different members to be responsible for different domains of the vocabulary. It is hoped that outside linguists will start their work on this dictionary only after the language committee has typed their findings into a form that a dictionary production can be based.

Awareness raising

Awareness raising about the importance of the vernacular, and community support for the language development activities are immensely important. The Chong Language Committee is mainly responsible for this task. Yet, the research team has continuously tried to rouse the committee members to act on the issue. Not all committee members automatically saw the importance of awareness raising and support of promotion of spoken Chong to the teaching language, and in the long run, language revitalisation.

The main goals are to mobilise the general Chong community to support the endeavour, and to promote the use of spoken Chong. Strategies include continuous interaction between the enthusiastic committee members and other Chong. Within a fairly shot time, many more Chong are becoming interested in the project and address

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their interest in being involved. Literacy survey has played an important role, as language committee members have personally contacted most Chong in the area.

The second goal is progressing at a much slower pace. So far no great changes in the patterns of language use have taken place. This is of course a long process. It is also possible that the research team should be more active in this, and introduce some practical strategies that the language committee can adapt to the local circumstances. Speaking, singing and competitions among the Chong children, as well as 'speak only Chong' days at home, for example, have been discussed in committee meetings as possible strategies to encourage the use of spoken Chong.

Vernacular literacy activities

The Chong literacy program is an essential component in the revitalisation process of Chong language as well as the action research efforts by the community. The program attempts to promote Chong language through vernacular literacy efforts including:

- vernacular literature promotion,
- vernacular literature development and production,
- development of literacy materials, and
- development of human resources necessary for on-going literacy work for children as well as adults.

Literacy survey

Early on, the planning process for the Chong language project was hindered by a lack of credible and relevant information. Therefore, a literacy survey was seen as a priority. Contrary to the suggestions of the consultants, the Chong language committee decided to interview all people with Chong roots in Takhiangthong and Khlongphlu sub-districts. The committee would not agree to sampling, but instead wanted to have personal information and attitudes from all Chong in the area.

The language committee produced a questionnaire with the help of the research team. The committee printed 2000 copies of the form. In addition to personal information, the questionnaire includes information on:

- speaking and comprehension of Chong,
- reading and writing of Thai,
- the use of both languages,
- attitudes about Chong language and towards Chong language development,
- willingness to collaborate with the language development program, and
- needs in terms of Chong literacy.

Language committee members received training in interview techniques in May 2001. By the end of August, the committee members had interviewed about 1300 Chong. The committee is currently in a process of analyzing the data at the grassroots by using

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cardboard boxes, wooden sticks, slips of paper, notebooks and other low-tech, yet sustainable, research equipment. The results of the survey should be finished by the end of October 2001.

A survey of this scale is not only useful for collecting information about the sociolinguistic and literacy situation, but in fact, also an excellent tool for awareness raising about the planned activities and revitalisation of the vernacular. During the interviews, enthusiastic Chong researchers were able to share various aspects of the language development activities and their progress. Thus, almost every member of the Chong community is aware about the new orthography and subsequent literacy activities. This is a very important prerequisite for sustainable efforts in vernacular literacy at the pre-reading stage.

Intended beneficiaries

Based on tentative information about the sociolinguistic and literacy situation in the Chong communities of Takhiangthong and Khlongphlu, four groups of intended beneficiaries of the Chong literacy endeavour can be envisaged. These groups are displayed in Table 1 below.

		Speaks Chong	
		yes (+)	no (-)
Reads Thai	yes (+)	Chong + Thai + 1	Chong - Thai + 3
	no (-)	Chong + Thai - 2	Chong - Thai - 4

Table 1: Intended beneficiaries

The four groups displayed above can be further divided into sub-groups in terms of age, gender, and the level of education, for instance. Different groups require different approaches. The first group consists of people who speak Chong as well as Thai, and read Thai. These people can learn to read and write Chong after a brief introduction to the orthography, for example, by attending a short workshop or by reading through the Chong alphabet book.

The second group consists of people who speak Chong and Thai, but are illiterate. This is a small group of mainly older women. Some people in this group may want to learn, and the most feasible approach is to teach them privately or in small groups.

The third group consists of people who speak and read Thai, but whose skills in Chong are limited or nonexistent. This is the group that is of most interest to the Chong language committee, and include mainly children and youth of Chong background. This is also the most difficult group to reach, unless the learners can improve their oral Chong competency. Otherwise, an elaborate curriculum and set of materials have to be developed to enable teaching Chong as a second language.

The fourth group is marginal including people who neither speak Chong nor read Thai. The project has no intention of reaching this group.

Nevertheless, for most intended beneficiaries of this project (namely groups one and three) literacy activities will be *transitional*. This means that the learners will transfer their existing reading skills from the majority language (L2) to their mother tongue (L1) by using orthography based on the writing system of the majority language.

Development and production of materials

From the onset, there have been requests for teaching-learning materials to be used in teaching Chong language. The main need seems to be for an alphabet book and a primer. However, the research team has not been able to produce such materials until the tentative orthography has been properly tested. Also, producing teaching-learning materials in a vacuum without consideration of curriculum development and teacher training is not feasible, and certainly not sustainable. In addition, a participatory approach is the preferred means of these processes in the case of the Chong, so the research team has decide to hold back these requests until appropriate workshops can be arranged to train writers and editors, as well as curriculum developers and volunteer teachers. Therefore, this long process is going ahead slowly, but step by step.

After the first draft of the tentative orthography, the research team has continuously encouraged the language committee members to write stories in Chong. The main rationale is that by using the orthography, its usability can be naturally tested, and also to identify good writers, storytellers and editors who can later be trained to be responsible for further literature production. Writing equipment has been distributed in regular meetings and writers have shared their stories with other members. A couple of better stories have been made into sample booklets, so that others would be encouraged.

In August 2000, a short introductory writers' workshop was arranged for interested Chong (Malone 2001). Some graduate students of ILCRD, as part of their coursework, conducted this workshop. In addition to involving students in a hands-on applied linguistics project, the goal of the workshop was to meet a need that was being expressed by Chong community leaders for literature in Chong. During the workshop the twenty or so participants learned basic ideas about writing stories, editing them and producing booklets. As a result of the workshop, the first 15 stories written in Chong were produced. The workshop also sparked a lot of enthusiasm about vernacular literacy.

After the first writers' workshop, the research team prepared some sample materials, such as big story books and a draft alphabet book to be used in training. Serious material production will only start after suitable Chong individuals have been identified for various tasks and they have received appropriate training. A donation of a used computer is being sought to enable typing of Chong texts and later sustainable production of Chong literature at the community level.

The working approach

The project's approach to work focuses on partnerships and capacity building. Thus, the role of the outsiders is mainly that of a consultant and trainer. The community-based approach is the most feasible for reaching the goals, since project funding is limited. For example, there is no funding available for full-time project staff. Therefore, training the community to do most of the work on their own is extremely important. The basic idea is that when many partners contribute a little, all inputs add up, and consequently are sufficient to accomplish the goals. The coordination of contributions and responsibilities, however, is of particular concern, and so far perhaps the weakest link of the whole effort.

Prospects

Several workshops are planned in the near future to go ahead with preparations for literacy activities. A one-week writers' workshop will take place in October 2000, and two-week curriculum development and teacher training workshops will take place in January and March 2001, respectively. The research team is currently looking for a donation of an old computer or funding to buy a new one. A computer and a printer are needed for producing literacy materials at the village level.

Formal primary schools and the secondary school in Khlongphlu sub-district started Chong studies in the academic year of 2001. Chong language and culture are taught in the curriculum slot reserved for local studies. Since curriculum and materials for language teaching are not yet finished, the focus of the learning in the first year is on Chong culture. However, a language committee member already regularly teaches Chong oral expression and vocabulary in local schools. Full-scale studies in Chong language are expected to start in May 2002. This is a very positive sign, as very few government schools in Thailand include an indigenous language in the curriculum.

Highlights

The Chong project is only at its beginning stages. Thus, it is too early to assess the impact of the endeavour on the Chong community. Nevertheless, at least one issue already stands out. The Chong are among the first, if not the first, linguistic minority in Thailand that has been able to get its language included in the government school system. This is a remarkable achievement, and in the future this experience may have important repercussions to the education policy of ethnolinguistic minorities in Thailand.

The project has also had other positive experiences, and they are highlighted next. These issues can be considered as conditions that support program operation, but they can also be seen as indicators of success. The conditions may have existed in the community before the introduction of the project, but the project has clearly strengthened some of the conditions. The experiences can be divided into two groups, internal conditions and external conditions.

Internal conditions

Internal conditions refer to the project and the community in which it is operating. First of all, the chosen approach seems to be working quite well with the Chong. The working approach of the project is community-based and it requires a strong commitment of community members. Such an approach helps keep operations inexpensive, empower the community, raise the awareness, and increase motivation. Some community members are clearly proud of the achievements to date, and say 'we have done it on our own'.

Secondly, high motivation and consequent participation in project activities are clearly evident. Some community members, such as a former sub-district head, two Buddhist monks, and several members of the language committee, are really exited about the opportunities of the Chong project. They have given a lot of time and have provided some resources for the project. For example, the monks have moved away from their respective well-established temples to serve project needs on a full-time basis. They have settled to a place that is closer to project activities and currently acts as the project office and training centre. However, few Chong can provide financial assistance to the project. Although not terribly poor, many Chong are in debt, and few have surplus financial assets.

Thirdly, the project has provided new skills and expertise, and improved already existing skills, for those involved in the project. As the project is partly seen as action-research, the Chong language committee members have adopted a new role as researchers. The literacy survey and orthography test, for instance, have mostly been conducted by villagers. Further, those involved in writing Chong have improved their literacy, particularly writing, skills on the national language.

Fourthly, the issue of local talent is essential in terms of capacity building. A lot of talent surely exists in all minority communities, and it is mainly the coordinators' task to find all the talent to be used for the endeavour. The Chong project has discovered, for example, writers, poets, storytellers, artists, teachers, organisers, and leaders from among the community through such a process. In the Chong community, for instance, the local undertaker is a very talented poet. He can write verse which is beautiful and touching, as well as entertaining poems in diglot (Chong and Thai). Unfortunately, he is quite busy with his work, and thus has not been able to attend all meeting and training sessions. In addition, a talented young artist, a local high-school student, drew most of the pictures used in the early Chong learning materials and tests. One of the monks was previously a primary school teacher, and he has a long experience in the field of education. In addition to the traditional technique of rote learning, he has been open to adopt new teaching strategies. Due to his background and availability he has in fact become the unofficial literacy coordinator of the project. Further, excellent storytellers have been identified. However, due to their low educational background, some are not very comfortable in writing down their own stories. Thus, some dictate their stories to their children or others who then write them down in Chong. It is hoped that also typing of all Chong texts would take place at the village level. The local secondary school already has computer facilities.

Finally, togetherness and a sort of community spirit are becoming apparent, especially among the language committee members and their families. This is an important development, as most Chong are fruit farmers, they have previously tended to work more independently than, for example, many rice farmers. Further, the community-based working approach of the project seems to have improved the identity and strengthened the self-esteem of the Chong community. This is a continuing process, but some Chong are already bold to say, for example, 'we are no longer ashamed of being Chong', or 'we Chong are a people just like the Thai or others'.

External conditions

External conditions relate to the society outside the immediate Chong community. Firstly, the new Thai constitution adopted in mid-1990s gives rights to all minorities to maintain their own culture. Therefore, the current national policy, at least in principle, supports endeavours such as the Chong project. Secondly, government officials support the initiative at district and local levels. The district head, for example, opened a Chong workshop, and in his speech expressed his support to Chong literacy and language development. In addition, Chong language committee members have regular contacts with various officials. Thirdly, local schools, primary as well as secondary, are supportive, in terms of collaborating in teaching of Chong and providing facilities for meetings and workshops. Fourthly, sufficient technical support, in terms of language development and literacy, is available. Finally, some funding for the project operation from various sources is available. Without the last two conditions, the progress of the project would have serious difficulties. Likewise, a supportive political climate is essential for a project such as this.

Challenges

The Chong project has encountered many challenges that are highlighted next. First, community mobilisation is not yet sufficient. There is a lack of motivation in the wider community, and a lack of awareness among the general public. Only a few young people or women of any age are involved in the work.

Second, the project has insufficient financial resources, and therefore the project must operate on a voluntary basis. Funding is available only for materials, workshops, and travel expenses, for example. No funding is available for salaries, thus there are no project staff as such. Also, very little funding is available for foregone earnings of community members who volunteer for the project. As most Chong are busy earning their living, many interested people do not have time to get involved in time-consuming activities such as survey interviews or workshops.

Third, multiple partners and collaboration pose particular challenges. Because about half a dozen stakeholders are involved have a stake in the project, coordination and delegation of responsibilities can be a problem. Various stakeholders do not always know what is expected of them. In addition, all stakeholders have coordinators of their own for this work, but the relationships and duties between different coordinators are somewhat vague.

Fourth, the project lacks examples of similar projects on vernacular literacy in Thailand. If such projects have taken place, their experiences are neither well documented nor available. It must be admitted, however, that many experiences of orthography development in Thailand are available. Also, most people, Chong as well as outsiders, involved in the Chong project are working on a project such as this for the first time, and lack practical experience in details involved.

Finally, language switch is occurring in the Chong community. This is evident particularly in terms of generation gap in language use. Language change is also happening. Chong vocabulary, syntax and sound system, for example, are changing under the influence of Thai. Additionally, many Chong do not speak Chong in daily interaction, indicating that much more awareness raising is necessary. Consequently, it can be argued that starting this project some 20-30 years ago would have been much easier than today. Back then, bilingual education could have been provided for Chong children at primary schools. The challenge is much greater now, as many school children no longer speak Chong.

Prerequisites for successful vernacular literacy

The Chong case sheds light on some general issues about vernacular literacy projects. The following discussion attempts to point out some essential factors in a program of vernacular literacy. Further, this section attempts to address the question of what is needed for vernacular literacy to be successful in a community such as the Chong.

If vernacular literacy is to contribute to community development, the working approach of the endeavour should allow for true partnerships between the local community and outside technical support. Paternalism should be avoided as much as possible. Also, clear delegation of roles, responsibilities and power should be known and adhered to by all. This calls for transparency in all action. Further, awareness raising and community mobilisation should under no circumstances be neglected. Instead, they should be a priority throughout the project. If the endeavour is based on the initiative of local people it has a much better chance of sustainability than if it is based on outsiders' ideas.

The Chong case shows that if ethnolinguistic minorities receive sufficient training and appropriate technical support, they can conduct, more or less on their own, most language development activities. The community-based approach seems to be possibly the most inexpensive, efficient, and sustainable way to go about this process. Yet, continuous and regular internal assessment of the process, and due modification of practices is essential to maintain the community-based approach. In many cases, this approach may require multiple partnerships. Unless particular attention is paid to the cooperation of various partners, in some contexts these relationships may be more a hindrance than a help for the venture. The key issue here is that throughout the process, the community itself is equipped to be responsible and do most of the work. As this approach seems to work with the Chong, it should, with appropriate adaptation, work also in other communities.

Based on the Chong experience, it is apparent that a good team of orthography development includes 1) native speakers aware of the special characteristics of the language, 2) linguistic experts, and 3) educational experts. The linguists and educators can be either community members or outsiders. If a language development team includes representatives of these three groups, the team is more likely to succeed in producing an orthography of good quality. A consensus reached by such a team will ensure the consideration of different perspectives to the orthography to make it useful and sustainable. Moreover, to make this process more efficient, phonology studies should also use an adapted writing system of the national or regional language. If this is not possible, the orthography development team should produce a phonology statement employing such a tentative orthography. This would surely facilitate and speed up other steps of the literacy program.

Furthermore, a vernacular literacy project should try to ensure sufficient funding for the effort. If minimum requirements for resources are not met, the progress of the work is greatly hindered. Yet, serious discussion about the sufficient level of outside funding is necessary to avoid 'over-funding' that may discourage community contributions and ownership. Finally, the political climate must support an undertaking such as this. If this is not the case, it is unlikely that many project goals can be accomplished.

Conclusions

For ethnolinguistic minorities, the role of vernacular language in community development may be immensely important. Vernacular literacy is an essential part of this process. The Chong case, as discussed in this paper, highlights issues encountered in the process of language development for an ethnolinguistic minority. Vernacular literacy is very important for the Chong. Yet, vernacular literacy may be even more important for minorities that still predominantly use the vernacular for daily communication. Further, vernacular literacy is essential for those not fully competent in the national or regional language.

In terms of community development, the most important contribution of the Chong project has been the language development process on the whole. The process has facilitated the Chong community to get organised and to work together for common goals. The example of this process, and community structures already established as a result of the project, can be used by other development endeavours in the future. Thus, it can be argued that if most preconditions for community-based programs of vernacular literacy are met, vernacular literacy and the active use of mother tongue, may have positive contributions to community development in other contexts.

The following points are considered as some possible outcomes of vernacular literacy. They show that, under favourable circumstances, the contribution of vernacular literacy may be of great importance to ethnolinguistic minorities.

The first group of possible outcomes occurs at the individual and community levels, and includes four points. First, when people use the vernacular and its written form their dignity and potential improves. Second, good competencies in the oral and written forms of the vernacular help people learn other languages better. This is particularly important in communities that are not fully bilingual. Third, if vernacular literacy efforts are community-based, the process provides new skills to community members. These skills can be used for other development activities. Fourth, as a result of vernacular literacy, the self-esteem and identity of a minority may improve. This in turn may help the minority to preserve their cultural heritage and better understand the group's place in the world.

The second group of outcomes relates to the issues extending to the wider society beyond the immediate minority community. First, as a result of vernacular literacy, a minority may overcome the feeling of inferiority in relation to the majority population. Thus, a true dialogue can take place between the two groups. Second, a minority with a strong identity can more easily relate to the majority as an equal partner in terms of community development. This may enable the minority to be empowered to make decisions about their future. Third, small-scale innovations at the grass roots can influence policies and practices. For example, teaching-learning practices of bilingual education in the school system can be modified on the basis of community-based pilot projects. Further, as a result of successful examples, a national policy relating to minority languages can be developed or amended. Especially important is proper dissemination of experiences and sharing of information, at national as well as international levels.

There is evidence to conclude that positive changes have already taken place in the Chong community in terms of revitalising the use of vernacular language. Only time will tell how sustainable the use of the vernacular, in both oral and written forms, will be. Around the world, linguistic minorities, such as the Chong, are under constant threat of losing their culture and language, thus assimilating into the majority culture and society. The threat is even more serious in countries such as Thailand, where the national language and culture are efficiently and rather effectively exposed to the whole civil society by means of media and compulsory education. Almost every Thai citisen, even in remote areas, is exposed to these influences.

Therefore, other linguistically diverse nations could learn from the experience of Thailand, and let their own ethnolinguistic minorities retain their culture and language while it is still possible. This is likely to facilitate national development, socially as well as economically. Taking into account the needs of ethnolinguistic minorities, they will become sooner rather than later 'more productive' citisens of a nation. In most cases, starting education in one's mother tongue will improve further education, for instance, learning the national language. All this would further enhance the ethnolinguistic minorities' more active involvement in all spheres of a society, and contribution to the national development.

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17 Applying the findings of cognitive psychologists in a resource poor teaching environment

Gaylene Levesque

Too often the findings of researchers are not applied in the language classroom because the results are too obscure for us to understand, or because we simply don't have time to read about these findings. In this paper, I would like to discuss the findings of cognitive psychologists on how people learn, and to offer some suggestions on how classroom teachers can apply those findings in our overcrowded, resource-poor environments.

Teaching is a challenging profession. Our jobs require so much of us. We must get the material across to the students in a way that makes it easy for them to understand; we must inspire them to want to learn; we must meet the needs of the curriculum, even if we have no input into that curriculum; we must satisfy the needs of our administrators; we often have to cope with large classes of over-worked and over-tired students who would prefer to be somewhere else; and in developing countries, we must often work without the aid of overhead projectors, computers, or white boards. To top it all off, every time you think you finally have a handle on the situation, along comes another professional — at meetings like this — to tell you that you SHOULD BE doing even more! No, it's not an easy job, and I congratulate you for having the courage to listen to yet another person who wants to give you advice.

Unfortunately for those who hate change, and fortunately for those of us who love to try new things, teaching is an active profession. In the case of English teachers, we are teaching a living, changing language in a living, changing world. As teachers, we must be at the forefront of these changes. We must be willing to change in order to meet the changing needs of our students and of our society.

If we EFL teachers sat down and analyzed what we do every day, we would be very impressed with ourselves, and perhaps even intimidated. In linguistic terms, when we are teaching our students to communicate in English, we are, at the same time, teaching grammatical competence, sociolingual competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence. Although the term 'communicative competence' is bandied about a lot, in fact, most of us EFL teachers adhere to the philosophy of Bertolt Brecht, a German playwright, who once said 'If it works, it works.'

Well, what works, and why do we keep changing our minds about what works? Looking back at the history of language teaching, we can see that the reasons for learning a foreign language influenced the way language was taught. In the earliest times, people learned other languages in order to survive or to achieve their goals. Missionaries, traders, explorers and the like had needs that required the acquisition of other languages. People learned other languages through immersion by moving to another area, or wealthy people hired native speakers to tutor their children. They understood that in order to speak another language, one must HAVE to speak in that language. So, in many ways, the earliest second language learners were primarily concerned with achieving what we now call 'Communicative Competence.'

It was only in the past century that a new concept came into being — the belief that learning another language was 'good for' a person intellectually — that it was a means of disciplining one's mind. Most commonly, in the west, people learned ancient Greek or Latin — languages that were no longer spoken, or what we refer to as 'dead' languages. It was necessary to be able to read, but not to communicate, and the Grammar-Translation method was the method of choice. When I was a graduate student, I found it mildly amusing that we were taught that the Grammar-Translation method was used in the 19th century. In fact, I was taught both Latin and French by the Grammar-Translation method, and until very recently, Japan utilised the Grammar-Translation method in teaching English. Why was this method so popular? Because one did not have to train teachers in the new language, and it was very easy to test student knowledge. Of course, there is neither a psychological nor a linguistic rationale for this methodology, and those of us who were taught with this method didn't actually ever learn to communicate, but it sure saved governments and schools money.

Prior to the 1970s, behaviourist theories of psychology — which taught that language was a set of habits, and that students were empty vessels awaiting our pouring of knowledge into them — inspired such methodologies as the Audio-Lingual method. However, studies by Chomsky and cognitive psychologists set those theories aside and we language teachers entered a new era.

Cognitive psychology may be defined as the scientific analysis of human mental processes and memory structure for the purpose of understanding human behaviour. Cognitive psychologists are concerned with how humans receive, operate upon and transmit information. Most recently, officially since 1976, a new field called Cognitive Science has emerged. This 'new' science integrates research efforts from psychology, philosophy, linguistics, neuroscience, and artificial intelligence. However, for many of us, trying to understand the latest findings in scientific research and trying to understand how this new information relates to us as classroom teachers, is very difficult. Today, therefore, I would like to share some of the findings of scientists and explain how we can apply these findings in our classrooms.

Cognitive psychologists have found that learning is:

- active;
- cumulative;
- goal-oriented;
- constructive.

When we say that learning is active and cumulative, we are referring to a concept called the Schema Theory. The word, schema, refers to the pattern of organisation or a guide for understanding. Students come to us, not as empty vessels waiting to be filled with knowledge, but as complex human beings with experiences and prior knowledge that has been gained both in and out of the classroom. Even if the English language is new to them, they already know how to speak, how to understand, and how to think in 'a' language. If we are really lucky, they also know how to read and write in another language as well. They have organised this language knowledge in some way.

The Schema Theory is a kind of hierarchical scaffolding surrounding a concept. It is incomplete in detail, and when we encounter a new concept, it may be necessary to try out different schemata to see where the concept will fit in.

Let me give you an example. I come from Canada where we use knives and forks for eating. I now live in Japan where eating utensils are chopsticks. If I had never seen chopsticks before, I might have sat down at in a restaurant, been served my food and then looked around for my fork and knife. Not seeing anything but two slender pieces of wood beside my plate, I might have been puzzled. Upon looking around, however, and seeing others using these implements to eat, I would have thought 'Aha! This is a different kind of eating utensil.' I would have learned something new. I already had the schemata of eating utensils, but it hadn't included chopsticks. I would then have to rearrange my thinking to include chopsticks.

Learning, then, is a continuous process of reorganisation. This process cannot be predicted for each person based on his prior experiences and learning. The student is actively involved in the process of fitting meaning to existing schemata. A student may, therefore, have difficulty with a certain text because he, the student himself, cannot fit it into the correct schema that already exists in his mind or knowledge base. This is why teachers have to be very sensitive to whether or not students are understanding what is going on, and must be ready to try different ways to explain things.

The schema theory also helps to explain why the memorisation of isolated sentences has less educational value than the learning of words and groups of words in a meaningful grouping. Again, let me use an example. If I give you five words at random to memorise — let's say angel, pig, computer, water, and shoe, you will have to work to organise that material in some meaningful manner. However, if I give you the following list of words — grape, apple, peach, mango, and banana, you won't have as much difficulty because you will automatically put these words under the classification of 'fruit.'

Many of you are probably already doing everything that I will suggest today, but isn't it exciting that scientists are finally catching up to what we classroom teachers know instinctively? You'll be happy to note that the following suggestions do not require any fancy equipment.

1. We must first make certain that we have the students' attention. To achieve this we can:
    - ask a question to stimulate students' interest or draw a simple diagram on the blackboard;
    - move around the room, use gestures, avoid speaking in a monotone;
    - regain the attention of individual students by walking closer to them, or by asking them a question they can answer.
2. We can help students separate essential from non-essential details and help them to focus on the most important information. We can do this by:
    - summarising instructional objectives to provide an indication of what students should be learning;
    - when making an important point, pause, put the idea on the board, repeat, give examples, ask students to paraphrase.
3. Help students make connections between new informaiton and what they already know:
    - use diagrams or outlines to show how new information fits within the framework you have been developing.
4. Give an assignment that specifically calls for the use of new information along with information already learned.
5. Provide for repetition and review of information:
    - begin class with a quick review of the homework assignment;
    - give frequent, SHORT tests;
    - build practice and repetition into games or have students work with partners in role-play and other situations.
6. Present material in a clear, organised way:
    - make the purpose of the lesson very clear. (For example, 'Today we will work on finding different ways of combining ideas.')
    - give students a brief outline to follow (much like we are using now!)
    - use summaries in the middle and at the end of the lesson.
7. Focus on meaning, not memorisation. If teaching new words, for example, help students associate the new word to a related word they already know. Exercises, drills, etc. must be done for a purpose besides just practice, and it must build on already existing background knowledge. The teacher should show the students how the activity or learning objective relates to them and to their lives and goals.

As I said before, many of you are probably already doing most or all of this, but if you aren't, be aware that studies also have shown that too much rote learning, at the expense of meaningful communication in the language classroom, actually stifles — actually *destroys* — the learning process.

Implicit in the whole concept of cognitive psychology is respect for the student and the acknowledgement that each student is a living human being who is owed the opportunity to develop into a self-actualising person. One of the purposes of education is to develop individuals who will be able to live joyous, humane, and meaningful lives. Educators must be empathetic, understanding, respectful and genuine. Luckily, most teachers who are attracted to our profession are such people.

The idea that language learning demands translation, memorisation, and pattern practice — that learning MUST be tedious and somewhat painful — is a concept that is very strong among some people. Some of the adult students I taught in China let me know that they didn't feel real learning was going on if they were enjoying an activity. I had formed a choir to meet after school to learn some English songs. The participants enjoyed this activity immensely, but I noticed a couple of students who, although they clearly enjoyed the activity, stopped coming to choir practices. When I asked them why they had stopped coming, they told me that it was fun, but they felt they should be spending that time studying English, not wasting time on fun. I pointed out that this choir was studying English. All directions and instructions were given in English. The songs were in English, they were explained in English, and the songs themselves were excellent pronunciation and enunciation drills. Just because an activity is enjoyable does not mean there is no learning taking place. In fact, the tediousness and pain of dull classes frequently results in students losing interest or in students suffering high anxiety levels — factors which hinder the learning process.

As part of this, I would like to suggest the use of games and songs in the classroom. Why? First of all, both games and songs are enjoyable, and enjoyment plays a critical role in lowering the anxiety level of learners, helping them to focus their attention on the song or game itself, not on language skills. In the case of games, this results in real communication. When students are relaxed, they learn more easily.

Now I'm going to consider the use of songs. The advantages of using songs in the classroom include the following:

1. The songs are in English, therefore students get practice in enunciation and pronunciation. Language becomes meaningful.

2. Because songs are in English, students are introduced to new vocabulary, including slang.

Songs provide the opportunity for discussion of cultural differences and also provide the opportunity for reinforcement of concepts being taught in other contexts, and students don't mind 'over-learning' because it isn't boring.

These advantages, of course, are all linguistically oriented. There are other reasons for using songs as well. For one thing, I often use songs to reinforce the topics of lessons. For example, one chapter of a textbook that I use deals with the topic of work and jobs. I bring in two songs for that chapter. One is called 'To Sing for You' by Donovan.

This song's first verse is:

> When you're feeling kinda lonesome in your mind
>
> With a heart-ache followin' you so close behind
>
> Reach out to me with your weary mind
>
> I'll sing a song for you; that's what I'm here to do
>
> To sing for you.

This brings up the topics of enjoying your work and how each person can interpret his or her work, no matter what the job, as helping others.

The other song I bring in is by a Canadian country and western singer called Stompin' Tom and is called 'Tillsonburg.' The chorus of this song, which is about picking tobacco, is 'Tillsonburg ... Well, my back still aches when I hear that word.' We discuss the fact that a lack of education can limit one's options and that a lot of jobs require back breaking labour. Students love chiming in for the chorus of this one!

One of the reasons I use songs is to encourage the students. Let's face it. Students in developing countries are sometimes overwhelmed by the harshness of their lives. Sometimes we can 'kill two birds with one stone' by introducing a song that lifts their spirits and encourages them to appreciate life. One group of refugees I taught were particularly depressed and angry about what life had meted out to them and worried about the friends and relatives they had left behind. The song 'Don't Worry, Be Happy' became the theme song of our class, and outside of class students would often encourage each other with these words.

In closing, I would like to end this session with the following personal observation. Language teaching has entered a new era — one in which we have the opportunity to learn from cognitive psychologists, humanists, educational psychologists, and linguists. This relationship has allowed us to try many new ideas, new approaches, and new methods. I believe that teaching is an art, not a science. I believe that the best teachers are those who really care about their students and who see themselves, not as 'gods' who disseminate information, but as guides who help our students discover how intelligent they really are. I think the best technique for teaching is whatever works best for you as a teacher and for your students. Each of us has a different personality, and so each of us will have a different style of teaching. Each student also has a different personality, and therefore, a different style of learning. We are partners and we must work together with love and respect for each other. If we can create an atmosphere where students are not afraid to make mistakes, where students are motivated to learn, where students are encouraged to feel good about themselves, where students are excited about the prospect of using the knowledge they are developing in the classroom, where both students and teachers look forward to the next class, then we can consider ourselves successful.

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18 Globalisation, power and hegemony in language development

Shane P Martin & Edmundo F. Litton

The case of Guatemala

It is difficult to get an accurate picture of the language usage and population in Guatemala, due to the remoteness of certain rural areas and the challenges involved in appropriately counting the marginalised groups by the dominant group. According to the United States Central Intelligence Agency, the July 2000 estimated population was 12,639,939, of which 56% are Latino (also called mestiso, mixed Amerindian-Spanish), and 44% are indigenous, mostly Mayan (CIA 2001). Spanish is spoken by 60% of the population, with the remaining 40% speaking one of more than 20 indigenous languages, including Quiche, Cakchiquel, Kekchi, Mam, Garifuna, and Xinca. Approximately 55.6% of the population over 15 can read and write, although that number decreases to 48.6% for women (CIA 2000). There are great disparities in education levels and socioeconomic levels between the Latino and indigenous groups. This lack of equity was partly the cause of one of the longest civil wars in the modern era. The following analysis of the peace accords and the resulting challenges is based in part on interviews I did in Guatemala during 2000 while doing professional development at the Universidad Rafael LandÌvar in the Edumaya Project.

The peace accords

Guatemala emerged from 36 years of intense civil war with the signing of El Acuerdo de Paz Firme y Duradera (the definitive peace accord) in 1996 (Recovery of historical Memory Project 1999). The entire of package peace accords consists of 12 acuerdos signed between 1994 and 1996 (Acuerdos de Paz Para Todos 1998). While the acuerdos spelled out a vision for a new Guatemala based on equity and access for all, Acuerdo No. 5, Acuerdo Sobre Identidad y Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas (Accord no. 5, Accord Concerning the Identity and Rights of the Indigenous People) signed in México, D.F., on March 31, 1995, was especially profound because of the scope of its vision concerning the identity, culture and language of the ingenious Guatemalan people. The document affirmed that the national identity of Guatemala is multi-ethnic, multicultural and multilingual, and that all parties recognise and respect the political, economic, social and cultural identity and rights of the Mayan, Garífuna and Xinca peoples. Further, the document pledged to fight discrimination, recognised the rights of the indigenous women who suffered double discrimination, and recognised the importance of the Mayan culture as the original culture of Guatemala.

The section on culture recognises the important relationship between culture and language, and calls for the government to respect and to promote the indigenous languages, including the use of the indigenous languages in education and social services. The document also calls for the official recognition of the indigenous languages. Finally, the accord calls for education reform that includes a commitment to bilingual/intercultural education, and the training and support of bilingual indigenous teachers.

Challenges in implementing the peace accords

In response to the peace accords, Guatemala has embarked upon a major educational reform movement, focussing on educación bilingüe/intercultural (bilingual/intercultural education). The focus of the reform project is to train bilingual speakers of the indigenous languages to be teachers in rural settings utilising the primary language. The program of reform, while responding to the peace accords, is ambitious in scope and has several major challenges to overcome: (1) the lack of potential teachers educated in the primary languages of instruction; (2) the lack of an adequate infrastructure to support the bilingual teachers; (3) the inaccessibility of the rural locations where the majority of the indigenous population live; (4) lack of a national consensus concerning the educational reforms; and (5) national ambiguity regarding the peace accords themselves.

While all of the above mentioned challenges present serious obstacles to educational reform, the most serious are the latter two. There is yet to emerge a national consensus in Guatemala concerning educación bilingüe/intercultural. While the indigenous people are committed to this process, the dominant cultural group of Latinos are not. Tourism may be a major economic factor in Guatemala, and one which promotes the indigenous cultures and languages to a certain extent, but not to the point where the Latino dominant culture is willing to learn the indigenous languages, and learn the culture beyond a superficial encounter. Both multicultural education (such as in Canada, Australia or the United States) and educación bilingüe/intercultural (in Guatemala) seek to teach the multiple cultures present in a country to all peoples, thus they share a similar goal. The major difference, however, is that multicultural education has become more institutionalised in the context of the United States and other countries; educación bilingüe/intercultural encounters such serious resistance by the dominant cultural group that it is questionable if its goals will be achieved. This points to the ambiguous nature of the peace accords themselves, especially from the Latino perspective. It is one thing to sign the accords and end the civil war, and another to live up to the vision of social justice, access and equity promised in the documents. Guatemala, as yet, has not found a way to move from its bifurcated history to forge the new nation envisioned in the peace accords. Until issues of language, power and hegemony are integrated into the lives of the Latino majority in a meaningful way, the promise of the peace accords may never be fulfilled.

The case of the Philippines

The constitution of the Philippines recognises English and Filipino as the official languages of the country. Despite the validation in the constitution, the two languages that Filipinos speak (English and Filipino) are obviously not given equal status in Filipino society. It is clear that English is the more prestigious language. English is used as a medium of instruction in most schools, and the ability to speak English well is a sign of being well educated (Galang 1988, 2000).

This study discusses how language attitudes towards English and Filipino influence teaching methods of Filipino teachers who teach literacy in English or Filipino. The study will explore the following questions:

- How do teachers of Filipino and English literacy differ in their teaching practices?
- According to Filipino teachers, what are the primary purposes of being literate in English or Filipino?
- How does society's attitude towards a language influence the way teachers teach literacy in that language?

The data was collected through a survey of English and Filipino teachers in grades one through seven. One group was composed of teachers who teach English literacy, while the other group was composed of teachers who teach literacy skills in Filipino. Forty-nine teachers completed the survey. Twelve of the teachers taught Filipino while the other 37 teachers taught English. The questionnaire was administered in English for the English teachers and in Filipino, with a slight variation, for the Filipino teachers.

The language situation of Filipinos

Prior to the colonial period, there were a multitude of languages in the Philippines that were a part of the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages (Llamzon 1970). Many of the languages spoken in the Philippines today are related to the languages of Indonesia and Malaysia. Galang (2000) states that there are about 100-150 languages in the Philippines today.

The language situation of Filipinos is best understood in light of the multiple cultural forces that have shaped the Filipino languages. The influences of colonisers and neighboring cultures have affected the evolution of these languages. These influences are evident in the presence of foreign linguistic features of Filipino languages and cultural traits that are expressed through the languages.

Spanish and English were introduced to Filipinos during the era of colonisation. The Spanish colonial period started more than four hundred years ago, beginning in the early 16th century. Spanish, however, was taught to and spoken only by the elite of the colonised society, as the Spaniards adopted a segregational policy for native Filipinos (Galang 2000). Instead of teaching Spanish, the Spaniards learned the languages of the Filipino people and used the native Filipino languages to teach them Catholicism.

The Americans introduced English as a necessary feature of public education, adopting it as the medium of instruction. Llamzon (1970) explains that none of the existing languages were acceptable to the Americans as a medium of instruction in a massive public school system because educational materials were not available in any of the local Filipino languages. Furthermore, English became a natural choice if existing regional jealousies were to be squelched. 'The choice of English was considered reasonable and was whole-heartedly accepted by the people' (Marasigan 1986:338).

In 1940, steps were taken to develop a national language. Galang (2000) describes the evolution of the national language from Tagalog to Pilipino to Filipino. Tagalog was used as the basis for a national language in 1937. Tagalog was chosen because it was spoken in the capital region and was considered as the most highly developed and studied Philippine language (Galang 2000). In 1959, The Tagalog-based national language was renamed Pilipino. Tagalog was then perceived to be a regional language and this perception delayed its acceptance as a national language. Pilipino, according to Galang (2000) is basically Tagalog with borrowed words primarily from English, Spanish, and Chinse. In 1987, Filipino was designated the national language of the Philippines. Filipino is different from Pilipino in that the former recognises borrowings from other indigenous languages in the Philippines.

The majority of Filipinos speak an average of four languages. Most Filipinos speak the language of the region or province where they live. On entry into the educational system, most Filipinos learn English and Filipino, because these two languages are the official media of instruction. Students who pursue higher education have the option of learning another language, usually Spanish.

Teaching strategies and content

Teachers who taught the subjects in reading and language used different teaching strategies than the teachers who taught Filipino. The teaching strategies used by the English teachers were strategies that are often used in teaching English as a second language students in the United States. Some of these strategies identified by these teachers include using the Natural Approach, Silent Way, Total Physical Response, use of dialogues, and silent reading. The Filipino teachers identified using more 'traditional' teaching methods. Most of the Filipino teachers noted that they demonstrated the desired outcome for their students. They also often spend time translating words to English.

Classes in English had content that focussed on skills and structure. Students were expected to be able to demonstrate skills such as being able to write a paragraph, state opinions, or infer a writers' purpose. Lessons in the language class also had a very clear focus on grammar. The classes in Filipino, however, focussed primarily on Filipino literature. Students were expected to be able to create original literary works and study the works of Filipino authors. Grammar was taught only in conjunction with the discussion of literary works.

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Reasons for learning English and Filipino

Both groups of teachers had similar opinions on the purpose for teaching English and Filipino. Both groups of teachers stressed the need to learn English because it is an international language, and that their students need to be prepared to interact with non-Filipinos. Both English and Filipino teachers also stated that learning English is important because important works in literature, science or computer technology are written in English. One English teacher stated that learning English is important because it is the language of business.

Both the English and Filipino teachers shared similar opinions on the purpose for learning Filipino. Most of the teachers in both groups stated that Filipino is an important language to learn primarily because it is the national language of the Philippines. Learning Filipino, according to both groups, will also lead to a better appreciation of the Filipino cultural heritage. The English teachers stated that there is a need to learn Filipino because some Filipinos do not speak English, and their students need to learn to communicate with other Filipinos.

Societal attitudes towards Filipino or English

Both groups of teachers expressed the opinion that Philippine society has a positive attitude towards the use of English. One participant stated, 'our ability to speak English proves to the world that we are educated'. A number of English teachers state that the ability to speak English allows Filipinos to travel to other countries. A Filipino teacher further states, *'Hangang hanga sila kung marunong magsalita ng Ingles ang isang taó* [They are impressed when someone is able to speak English]. Both groups of teachers believe that Filipino society has a positive attitude towards English because it is the language used in business, science, and education.

While both groups expressed that Philippine society has a positive attitude towards the Filipino language, some of the Filipino teachers stated that Philippine society clearly values English more than Filipino: *'Pinapahalagan din ng lipunang Pilipino ang pagbasa at pagsulat sa Ingles, kung minsan mas pinapahalagaan pa nga ito kaysa sa pagsulat sa Filipino'* [Filipino society values literacy in English also, sometimes though, it seems that society values literacy in English more than they do being literate in Filipino]. One Filipino teacher states, *'Ang wikang Ingles ay status quo sa ating lipunan. Maging ang ating batas ay nasusulat rin sa Ingleś* [The English language is a status symbol in our society. Even our laws are written in English]. Another Filipino expressed the opinion that people who do not speak English try very hard to speak English so that they will be part of the inner circles of society, even if they make grammatical errors: *'Nagsusumikap ang mga karaniwang mamayang matuto ang wikang Ingles upang ma-in sa lipunan ... kahit na ito ay carabao English o mali-mali sa grammar'*. An English teacher reiterates these sentiments when she says, 'Our society does not value Filipino as much as it values English. This is supported by the fact that most of the subjects in school are taught in English'.

These attitudes towards English and Filipino have an impact on the teachers' success in teaching English or Filipino. Most of the English teachers state that the obstacles that prevent their students from achieving success in English are factors such as laziness, lack of interest in reading books, or poor role models in the media. A number of teachers state that 'code switching' (referred to as 'Taglish') is a major obstacle to becoming proficient in English. The Filipino teachers, however, clearly show that the prestige that Filipino society attaches to the use of English is a major obstacle to their successful teaching of Filipino. One Filipino teacher states that an obstacle is, '*ang paniniwala nang mga bata at ang kanilang magulang na mas mabuti ang gamitin ang Ingles*' [the belief of the children and their parents that it is better to use English]. A teacher even stated that she has students whose parents prevent them from speaking Filipino at home.

Since Philippine society values English more than Filipino, teaching methods in English and Filipino are different. More time is allotted to teaching English than Filipino in a regular school day. English classes also focus on promoting reading and writing skills that can be used later for academic purposes. Filipino classes are focussed on literacy skills that promote love of country.

Power and language in the Philippines

The colonial past of Filipinos is most evident in their language situation. The reflections from the teachers clearly show how differently Filipino society values English and Filipino. Despite the desire to become more nationalistic, many Filipinos are reluctant to give up learning English because English proficiency is seen as a tool for economic mobility. The ability to speak English allows Filipinos to work abroad (Sevilla 1988). Since learning English is seen as a more 'useful' language than Filipino, the English language is given higher status in Filipino society.

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19 The return on investment from the donor's perspective

Bonaventure Mbida-Essama

I believe that to be really relevant to development, language needs to be linked somewhat to education. It may therefore be just as meaningful for us to also talk about relations between education and development.

I would like first to make two simple statements:

- The first is that we can easily agree that social wellbeing depends to a very large extent on the level of economic development.
- The second is that countries that have achieved remarkable economic performances are recognised as those that have invested heavily in human resources development and, most specifically, in the development of their youth. They started by putting a priority on primary universal education. It is only later that they turned heavily to secondary education. In many cases, higher education was mainly left to the private sector.

Keeping this in mind, I would like to dwell today on the following points:

(i) the importance of education;

(ii) human capital;

(iii) preschool education;

(iv) conclusions.

Importance of education

In my discussion, I will not deal with the important issues of equity, access and quality of education because the time we have does not make it possible.

We can easily distinguish three levels of education: basic education, secondary education and higher education. Let's limit ourselves to just basic education, and break it down between pre-school and primary education.

Most countries readily admit that their population needs to learn how to read, write and count. In all three cases, language is a 'sine qua none' for any progress. A weak educational base seriously undercuts and jeopardises national development prospects. Effective primary education is considered an absolute prerequisite for development.

Primary education has direct and positive effects on earnings, agricultural productivity and human reproduction or sexuality. It also has a powerful and palpable impact on future generations as concerns health, nutrition and children's education, as we shall see later.

Many studies have established a clear link between education and productivity, and conclude that the returns to investments in primary education are vastly superior to the opportunity cost of capital.

A study conducted in thirteen developing countries has shown that four years of primary education have the potential and tend to increase the productivity of small farm holdings by 7 to 10% in those countries where new agricultural technical packages are being adopted. This is so because the new techniques being proposed are more easily absorbed by the farmers who have a minimum level of literacy.

The social effects of primary education are also quite positive. Women who have had four years of schooling or more tend to have 30% fewer children than do those without education. The mortality rate of the children of educated mothers is twice as low as for non-educated mothers. And, children of educated parents are more likely than those of uneducated parents to attend school for longer.

I feel it important to mention here that we should not forget that education in, and by itself, does not lead to growth and social wellbeing. Investments in human and physical capital lead to growth only in the context of a sound macro-economic framework and a minimum of good governance.

Human capital

For many and perhaps most of us, when the word 'capital' is mentioned, we think immediately of a bank account, a savings book, aluminium plants, assembly lines, shares in a corporation, or other more sophisticated forms of wealth production and accumulation. These are forms of capital in the sense that they are meant to produce an income, and other useful outputs over the long term.

Another type of capital also exists, and is even closer to all of us than we tend to realise: schooling, a computer training course, health care expenditures, workshops, and moral and spiritual values. We can call all of these 'capital' because they improve our health, increase our knowledge and hence our earnings as a consequence of the promotion we receive to earn a higher income. This is in recognition of the fact that we have acquired, kept or improved them over time. Consequently, even as we remain consistent with the traditional definition of capital, we can feel justified to say that expenditures on education, training, medical care, and other factors are investments in capital. However, what is produced is not financial or physical capital, because we cannot separate a person from his or her knowledge, skills, health or values the way we transfer financial or physical assets while the owner stays in a different place.

These investments produce human capital. As someone once said, a dramatic illustration of the concept of human capital is seen in what happened in Hong Kong in 1997 when many residents perceived what they considered a serious risk with the transfer of the former British colony back to China. In order to protect themselves against what they saw as potential harmful policies that were perhaps to come, many people sold their financial and/or physical assets in order to invest in foreign security and property. All the while, computer nerds, top management and other skilled professionals left to seek safe heavens elsewhere. They could not reduce their risk by investing only part of their human capital abroad — they had to go where their human capital went.

If those that we call the poor earn little, this may have a lot to do with their low endowment in human capital, and the resulting discrimination or indifference they suffer in the labour marketplace. Education, which begins with the mastery of language, can help increase the value of their human capital, and help fight poverty. However, the positive impact of education can only be felt after many years, sometimes after one whole generation, when the fruits of the investments made or the expenditures incurred can finally be picked in the form of increased revenues, better employment possibilities, and the use of household resources. Delays in proceeding with the needed investments or expenditures in human capital can only lead in most cases to a deferral of an improvement of the social wellbeing.

The impact of investments in human capital is also at the level of fecundity and health. As said previously, the more a woman is educated, the lower the number of children she gives birth to. Another result is the increase of the age at which they get married or have their first child.

We may have said it before but it is worth repeating: the more parents are educated, most especially the mother, who is really yesterday's young girl, the lower the mortality rate owing to birth complications, and the better the health of the child. An improvement in mothers' education also reduces the risk of children dying before they reach the age of two.

Finally, children of educated parents tend to attain a higher level of education than children of uneducated parents, thus reinforcing a cycle which leads to citisens with better chances to compete in life.

Rates of return of investment in education

Experience and many studies have demonstrated that education and training are the most important investments in human capital.

The concept of the rate of return to education investments is not different from the same concept applied to any other investments. It summarises and reflects the costs and benefits of the investments made at different time periods. It is expressed as the annual return or yield (in percentage), similar to what is given for savings accounts or government bonds. When we say that the rate of return of education is 10%, it can be understood to mean that, for instance, an investment of $100,000 in the education of our child will bring back, on average, $10,000 a year during the rest of his or her productive life. In addition, it means that this return is over and above what our child would have earned if we had not made the investment in his education.

We need to develop our analysis a bit further by also taking into account the element of opportunity cost. In deciding to go to school, say for instance the university, for four years at a cost of $10,000 per year for tuition and related expenditures, our youngster will have to forego the income that he/she could have earned had he or she chosen to go to work immediately after finishing secondary school. This income can be estimated by looking at what his or her friends who finished secondary school but chose to work instead of going to college make. By deciding to go to the university, our son or daughter thought perhaps that he would make $6,000 more per year than his or her friend who worked just after secondary school.

Leaving aside the complexities mentioned above and taking $6,000 as a net figure, the rate of return of university education in this case would be $6,000 divided by $40,000, the cost of university education over four years, or 15%. This very simple example is still incomplete because it tends to consider the benefits of education only from the perspective of the individual. One should also take into account the social benefits. The gains to society as opposed to the individual could be different because the specific costs and benefits in both cases are different also. For instance, some of the expenditures on students are paid out of public and private subsidies. By the same token, a student is concerned mainly with the effect of college education on his/her earnings, while society at large must determine its effect on national income.

We will not go into all these complex issues here. In fact, I am sure that you have noticed that we have left out the whole question of discounting the streams of earnings and costs to arrive at our indicative rate of return above. Likewise, we choose not to deal in detail with social returns. Economists in any case have always had a hard time estimating the social effects of different investments, including in the case of education. Still, we can present some approximations that have been made from time to time.

The World Bank published a study in 1994 by Mr Psacharopoulos providing an estimate of rates of returns to investments in education by region and level of schooling. I will summarise the main findings here as follows:

Estimates Of Education Rates Of Return

	Individual			**Social**		
Level	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Region						
1. Low and Middle Income Countries:						
Sub-Sahara Africa	41.3	26.6	27.8	24.3	18.2	11.2
Asia	39.0	18.9	19.9	19.9	13.3	11.7
Europe, Middle East and North Africa	17.4	15.9	21.7	15.5	11.2	10.6
Latin America and Caribbean	26.2	16.8	19.7	17.9	12.8	12.8
2. OECD countries	N.A.	12.4	12.3	N.A.	10.2	8.7

N.A. Not Available

Source: Psacharopoulos 1994

These numbers point to a number of characteristics: (a) individual returns are shown to be much higher than social returns; (b) returns to primary education are much higher than those to secondary or higher education; and (c) returns in Sub-Saharan Africa are higher than is the case in other regions.

Generally speaking, these figures seem to confirm one of the statements we made at the very beginning, that primary education is crucial to economic performance. However, it still must be underlined that for any investment to yield adequate returns, it must be of good quality. This also applies to education, and thus to the formation of human capital.

At the same time, a variety of questions, some of them very tricky, still remain to be addressed. I mentioned some of them at the beginning, such as equity and access. Other questions that I will flash to you are:

(a) does the majority of young people (including minorities and special groups) graduating from high school not attend university because of the relatively low rates of return, or because of financial difficulties, discrimination and other factors?

(b) are private rates of return higher on education than on physical capital and if so, is this due to risk, ignorance of effects, non-pecuniary factors or imperfections in the capital markets?

(c) has the large subsidy to education reduced its social rate of return below that of other capital, or has the subsidy been inadequate as a response to a very large discrepancy between social and private returns to education?

(d) what specific factors should be considered to differentiate between countries at different levels of developments?

Preschool education

A vast amount of research has been carried out, supported in many cases by empirical evidence, showing more and more that if the needs of preschool children are not adequately addressed at the opportune time, the chances that these children could later become a major burden not just for their parents, but also for society at large when they grow into adulthood, are considerable. This is so because first, they can become poor students with mediocre results starting at the primary school level, and later as non-productive adults. Worse, they could be so ill-adjusted to society later on that they would become serious social cases involved in crime and other social ills that are very costly to society.

Empirical evidence suggests that an investment in preschool programs can provide rates of returns which are much higher than those obtained at any other level of education. Further, preschool investments contribute to a substantial improvement of benefits, and thus rates of return at the primary, secondary and higher education levels. They also contribute to substantial reduction of public expenditures on health, social work and education, and to a better social adaptation of children as they grow up.

The negative consequences of a neglect of preschool education are felt many years after the fact, when it has become difficult and virtually impossible to change or influence the course of events. Very often, the actions that are required to deal with the issues and problems faced in those later years are prohibitively high and the results uncertain.

There are scientific and socio-economic justifications that militate in favour of investing in preschool child education. Let me deal with some of them very briefly here.

On the scientific front, medical and education research seems to indicate that mental growth takes place more rapidly in humans during the first years of infancy. In fact, it is now known that close to half of the potential for intellectual development is reached by the fourth year of existence. It is also known that the brain is more markedly stimulated during the first experiences of the young child. Finally, medical research has extensively documented the lasting impact of the environment in which he lives on the functioning of the child's brain. Over the last thirty years or so, the primordial and determining role of quality programs for the development of preschool children, and the impact they have on their mental, emotional and physical development have been abundantly shown.

It has also been demonstrated that failure to take the children's needs into account at a young age can have serious negative psychological consequences, and that the absence of an appropriate affective environment can delay or deal a severe blow to the child's growth in a manner that is comparable to the lack of an adequate diet.

We can all assume that many parents, especially those in developing countries, are not particularly well equipped to be cognisant of the many points made here on preschool education. We can only hope that policy-makers can play a significant role here, and that international development partners can also make a substantial contribution.

On the socio-economic side, studies and ex-post evaluations of preschool programs in the USA, in Asia, in the Middle East and in Latin America have confirmed that action to promote child development as early as possible leads to the following benefits: children who have received preschool assistance are readier than others to embark on their education program; they start school on time and under more auspicious conditions; they have lower repetition rates; and they have generally better school results.

Further, the psychological stimulation that accompanies preschool programs, both for parents and the children themselves, can lead to better and more fruitful initiatives in health and nutrition. Preschool programs also help ensure that children receive a more adequate medical and nutritional follow up.

It is therefore clear that the introduction and adequate running of pre-school programs are particularly beneficial to the most vulnerable groups in society (poor, minorities, rural area dwellers), and contribute in a significant way to a lessening of inequalities between boys and girls. A more pronounced targeting of girls is also likely to lead to a significant reduction later of unwanted pregnancies and infant mortality.

Conclusion

Before I conclude, let me just say a few words about the World Bank, my employer. I realise that my being here is not to promote the World Bank, but I believe that given the role it has played and is likely to continue to pay in education, and in view of its goals, it may help to briefly mention some of the things that it does in education.

The World Bank is committed to help attain the International Development Goals. In education, this means, among other things, (a) universal primary education in all countries by 2015, and (b) progress towards gender equality by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005.

The World Bank has a number of distinguishing factors compared to other multilateral or regional lending institutions:

(a) it has global coverage — we currently have education programs in 96 countries out of the 144 that are eligible for IDA/IBRD loans and credits;

(b) our programs have multi-sectoral linkages, which are usually conceived and developed in an overall macro-economic framework with strong linkages between different sectors; and

(c) our services are multi-faceted and include policy advice, resource mobilisation, brokering of partnerships and networks on behalf of clients.

As I am sure you also know, the World Bank is one of the largest lenders for education. We have committed a total of $30 billion to education since 1963. Our portfolio status as of June 2001, the end of our last fiscal year, shows a total of $10.5 billion for 163 projects in 82 countries.

There is an enormous diversity in the World Bank's clientele and in the challenges faced in trying to reform education. In low-income countries, resource constraints are very severe, and the need to deal with trade-offs between quantity and quality are pronounced. Then there is the perennial question of equity. Finally, the impact of HIV/AIDS has made matters more complicated than before, and the widening digital divide is more and more a major issue.

In the middle-income countries, we are dealing mainly with second generation reforms, competitiveness needs in the global economy, and the need for deepening the approach to equity and quality questions.

All in all, the World Bank recognises that this is a largely unfinished agenda. Despite important progress made, key statistics still point to an unsatisfactory situation — too many children of 6 to 11 years are still out of school, access is still by and large inequitable, and the gender problem continues to challenge us.

On the basis of the lessons that the World Bank has learned from this broad exposure, and there have been many setbacks and outright mistakes, we believe that the following key principles should guide our actions in education:

- strong political commitment is the cornerstone of success;
- quality is as important as quantity;
- government cannot do it alone — the private sector and civil society have a crucial role to play;
- better progress is made when there is a sector framework developed;
- efficient utilisation of resources is a must;
- education must adapt to new economic, technological and social challenges; and
- education expansion needs to be supported by a growing economy.

Leaving the World Bank aside now, and trying to summarise overall, I have struggled with the notion that the development of human capital is indispensable to development, and that language is a condition sine qua non of education or human capital

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development. I have also tried to show, within the constraints of the context of the conference, that the benefits and returns to education are very attractive under certain circumstances. We have also discussed the crucial role of primary education. Finally, we have tried to look briefly at the role of preschool education, which is really a prerequisite to success in subsequent levels of education.

Economic analysis has no trouble explaining why, throughout much of history, few countries have experienced very long periods of persistent growth in income per person. To quote one famous economist:

> if per capita income growth is caused chiefly by the growth of land and physical capital per worker, diminishing returns from additional capital and land eventually eliminate further growth. The puzzle, therefore, is not lack of growth, but the fact that some countries have had continuous growth per capita over the last one hundred years.
>
> Presumably, the answer lies in the expansion of scientific and technical knowledge that raises the productivity of labor and other inputs in production. The systematic application of scientific knowledge to production of goods has greatly increased the value of education, technical schooling and on-the-job training as the growth of knowledge has become embodied in people — in scientists, scholars, technicians, managers and other contributors to output.
>
> (Becker, 1993: 23-24)

This quote is from Professor Gary S. Becker of the University of Chicago, recipient of the 1992 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Science. It says more elegantly than I can ever hope to be able to say, that investment in human capital is just as important with developing economies as it is for the most advanced economies. Countries that have managed growth have invested heavily in education and training. The sequence seems to be universal elementary education, then secondary education, and finally higher education, without necessarily a total neglect of one for the other, but a sequencing of priorities.

Let me really end by saying that the stakes are very high. The bank robber, the burglar who breaks into our home, the rape perpetrator or the promoter of human trafficking, or just about any social misfit may just very well be someone who missed out completely on preschool education and got sucked into a spiral that became uncontrollable.

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20 Sustainability revisited: insights from a multiliteracies project in Malaysia

Moses Samuel

Introduction

This is my first visit to Cambodia, and in researching the country prior to my arrival, I came across an interesting Web site entitled, *Cambodia: Beauty and Darkness*, which opened with the following quote:

> The banyan tree grows throughout Cambodia. It may reach a height of over 100 feet, and as it grows, new roots descend from its branches, pushing into the ground and forming new trunks. The roots grow relentlessly; many of the ancient temples of Angkor have toppled as these roots have become embedded in the cracks and crevices between their massive stones. A single tree might have dozens of trunks, and it is often impossible to tell which is the original.
>
> (See: http://members.aol.com/cambodia/banyan1.htm)

I am drawn to this image of the banyan tree, not just because it is native to Cambodia, the site of our conference, but because I see in it a metaphor or a multiplicity of metaphors for different dimensions of sustainability. I am drawn to the following dimensions of the image: the multiple growth trajectories (from what are initially 'branches,' sprout emergent roots, which then reach the ground); the transformative nature of development (when grounded firmly, the new roots become amazingly indistinguishable from the original trunk), and the impact on existing structures, some of which may be ingrained in the social history of site (these root-trunks can, with time, dislodge gigantic traditional structures, even Angkor). Banyan trees seem to be built for sustainability; but the sturdy, almost unyielding character of the banyan tree makes it an unusual image for 'sustainability', because sustainability is viewed in the development literature as a fragile concept that needs to be constantly nurtured, fanned and kept aglow. I shall return to this image and some of its seeming contradictions at the end of the paper.

This paper explores the concept of sustainability and does so drawing from initial findings from an ongoing multiliteracies project in a semi-rural community of Kelebang in Malaysia. Chris Candlin (1996) poignantly reminds us in his preface to the proceedings of the First International Conference on Language and Development (subsequently published as Kenney & Savage, 1996) that 'one pathway into entering this novel world of language and development is to make use of . . . concepts from distinct but relatable discourses in applied linguistics' (p. xii). I use the concept of sustainability (or sustainable development), a term rooted in development studies, but which has recently crossed over into the discourses of language education, to explore dimensions of the interface between language and development.

These reflections on the concept of sustainability arise out of the schools multiliteracies project in the semi-rural community of Kelebang in Malaysia.

Background to the multiliteracies project

The town of Kelebang is a rural community in transition. The following description from fieldnotes provides a vivid portrait of the site:

> In the town of Kelebang, oil palm and coconut trees intersperse rows of shops along the main street. In the agricultural hinterlands lie kampongs, villages and oil palm and tea plantations. The agrarian landscape is dotted with small manufacturing industry, producing items like lumber, furniture and motor spare parts. Multinationals produce electronic items. The Kuala Lumpur International Airport, Cyberjaya and Putrajaya lie within a 20-mile radius of the town positioning it in the cyber-landscape of an information society where globalisation impacts the lives of people in the area.
>
> (Sithamparam 2001. Fieldnotes:1)

The physical site is epitomised by the juxtaposition of a myriad of images, some rural, some urban. Agriculture co-exists with small-scale industry, and the ultramodern Kuala Lumpur International Sirport and Malaysia's flagship 'silicon-valley' project, the Multimedia Super Corridor. In this development landscape, first world sometimes blends into, and sometimes obscures, the third world; at other times the third world is clearly apparent.

Malaysia's five-year development plans (*Seventh Malaysia Plan 1995-2000, Eighth Malaysia Plan 2001-2005*) articulate the national development agenda in terms of 'increasing globalisation and liberalisation as well as rapid development of technology' and efforts at 'developing a knowledge-based economy' (*Eighth Malaysia Plan* 2001:3). Another policy document, *Vision 2020*, sees the country acquiring developed country status by the year 2020.

Against this backdrop of an overt development agenda, the community of Kelebang seeks to straddle old and new worlds, and eventually leapfrog from an agricultural, low-end industry-based economy to a k-economy linked to a globalised world. It is here in this community-in-transition that we located our multiliteracies curricular project, a school-university partnership, begun a year ago with funding from the Malaysian-government IRPA (Intensified Research in Priority Areas) program. Our role on the project was that of university-reserchers collaborating with teachers and principal on site. The curricular project was framed on the basis of work of the New London Group (1996). The term 'multiliteracies' attempts to capture and recognise the multiple forms, the multiple sites and the multiple purposes of communication, and to show them in their social/cultural environments, link them to the demands of society and its economy, and to show them as effects of the agentive, creative, transformative, designing action of individuals in their social lives. (Kress 2000:142).

We found two aspects of the multiliteracies framework particularly attractive. First, it saw literacy as situated in the lifeworlds of learners; second, it acknowledged the changing nature of texts. As Sithamparam and Samuel (forthcoming) argue: 'Because of the situatedness of literacies in the lifeworlds of learners, it acquires relevance in the lived experiences not only of the present and the past, but also of the future. By providing space for emergent text forms, texts and textual practices are seen not as received conventions but are dynamically reconstructed to serve new purposes.' The dynamism of the conceptual framework that underlies this project is critical, in our view, to the sustainability of our project, because it is connected to learners — our ultimate clients and stakeholders — and because it has a dynamic view of the content of instruction, in our case emergent or new literacies — text forms as well as textual practices — focussing on what Kress (2000) calls 'ensembles of communicational modes' involving words on a page, images, gestures and movement.

Sustainability

The notion of sustainability or sustainable development is by no means a unitary or uncontested notion. As Pennycook (1996:7) notes, sustainability covers a range of meanings 'covering anything from an economically sustainable program, or a hope that external funding will go on forever, to a focus on local development, or handing the program over to local management.' Underlying these foci is a long-term view of the future, expressed eloquently in the Brundtland Commission's (1987) definition of sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs.' But the linking of sustainability to the notion of development has made it a contested term, for it is used by those who operate in a range of development traditions, both by those who share a modernist progressivist view of development, as well as those who share postmodern particularist view (Pennycook 1996). And therein may lie some tensions between the two constructions of the term in development discourse.

The term itself has its origins in the 'moral discourse of Northern environmentalism' (Adams 1995 in Pennycook 1996) which has gained currency since the Rio Declaration. In the discourse on environmentalism it is tied to the management of natural resources. Consider this entry on 'Resources' from the Development Dictionary (Sachs 1992):

> Resource originally implied life. Its root is the Latin verb, surgere, which evoked the image of a spring that continually rises from the ground. Like a spring, a resource rises again and again, even if it has been used and consumed.

Ideas of sustainability evoked in the above excerpt apply to natural resources but what about human resources (labour), which is certainly more than a factor of economic production? In human resource development the challenge is how do we 're-source' the actors on site, so that their actions and the contexts in which they operate are renewed continually.

I have been reflecting on these questions in the context of the Schools Multiliteracies Project. Certainly, issues of sustainability may be investigated after projects are completed (see for instance Hall 1996, Marpaung and Kirk 1996) in which case they resemble post-mortems. But the challenge for those who work in development settings is, how do we address sustainability while a project is in flight? The answer, I believe, lies in the reading of the situation, for the situation, the contexts, and developmental trajectories of projects are all susceptible to change in response to changing circumstances. By reading the site, I am referring to an anthropological or ethnographic stance. And I wish to highlight two dimensions of 'reading the site' to ensure long term sustainability, first, adopting a futures-orientation and second, mediating macro- and micro-planes of action on site.

The temporal dimension: reading and linking past, present and future

The temporal dimension of sustainability is captured in the Brundtwald Commissions injunction to 'serve the needs of the present without compromising the future.' But the future itself is multiple: we act today for several alternative futures, selecting some or one of them as we approach various junctions. Hence, planning for the future is a notion that has to be repeatedly interrogated in the life of the project.

In the Schools Multiliteracies Project, project consultants and researchers actively engaged participants — both teachers and learners — to articulate their conceptions of their futures at several levels, individual, community and national. By articulating these multiple conceptions and perceptions of alternative pathways, participants were able to discern potential contradictions and dissonances between present day actions and practices, and the practices that will be required in the future.

In one interview, one student, Christopher, who was exploring a career in film and advertising, was aware of the limitations of school in helping him reach his dreams:

> as you can see
>
> [this] is just a small town school where they don't specialise in studies like that . . . mostly I source these inspirations from other things, like books, magazines, films and [the Internet].

By sourcing 'his inspirations' through a variety of literacy experiences involving a variety of modalities, Christopher was able to transcend the limitations of the school's official agenda spelled out in the national curriculum which did not explicitly address the media as a means of meaning making. By designing appropriate materials that meet the needs of life and needs of learners, the ongoing multiliteracies project seeks to bridge the personal agendas of learners with the official agendas of learners, and this effort is an ongoing one.

The students talked of how they would re-design school experiences so that they would be more relevant to their worlds and their futures. One student, Radha, said of the school textbook: 'in this world [of the textbook], it's totally letter writing,' thus drawing attention to the absence of alternative forms of communication, like email, that were beginning to figure prominently in her life. In a sense, the worlds of students were more consistent with the agendas for development in Malaysia's five-year plans. But there was a lag between the official textbooks and the worlds envisaged in the development agenda.

As Sithamparam and Samuel (forthcoming) note: 'Mediation begins with articulation. Student and teacher perspectives were articulated only because of the active probing by researcher-consultants' (p.17). By juxtaposing the worlds of the future with the worlds of the present, curriculum design in the project was emergent and grounded in the social worlds and social futures of learners. In a sense, learners were actively co-designers of curriculum that had the potential of being responsive to their worlds. The teachers and learners in our site were operating in the context of a national curriculum, but what the project amounted to was re-sourcing — actively looking for new sources not catered for in the national curriculum, to ensure relevance, responsiveness and renewal.

Mediating alternative planes of action

Another dimension we had to mediate was the macro-world of national development policy and the micro-world of site. In a national school system such as that in Malaysia where various agencies of the Ministry of Education, like the national curriculum centre, the federal inpectorate, and examination boards, set the agenda for school-based practice, the role of mediating policy and practice between the macro- and micro-worlds takes on an added sense of significance. Thus in our site, while the national development plans, for instance, envisaged an active use of information and communications technology, and while students like Radha — who were much in tune with the spirit of the national development agenda — recognised that her curriculum was silent about the world of email which figured prominently in her out-of school life, her teacher did not share her view of the new forms of communication. As Sithamparam and Samuel (forthcoming) note, Radha's teacher saw the discourses of email as being language poor:

> When they use email they use simplified English . . . when they send messages they are not writing English — like 'you' is just 'u', 'too' is '2', but they understand.

By engaging with multiple actors on site, as researcher consultants we were able to identify potential dissonances. This was arrived at by adopting two alternating stances that Sithamparam and Samuel (forthcoming) label as 'objectivating' and 'subjectivating'.

'Subjectivating' means for us attempting to take in details of particular circumstances from the particular standpoint of a participant so that an emic or insider point of view is developed. With objectivating, there is detachment. Rassool (1999), in explaining Habermas's (1997) notion of an objectivating view, explained it as assuming a metaposition from which meanings can be analysed and interpreted to produce new meanings.

As the project progresses we will have to explore ways of bridging some of these fissures by bringing them to the conscious awareness of participants on site, or by designing curriculum that relate policy imperatives with ground realities and constraints.

Lessons from projects past

In addition to reading the site, we also interviewed key participants onsite about projects that had been conducted in the past in order to draw lessons for our current project. Teachers spoke of their apprehension about projects that have been implemented from outside the site, where teachers on site were merely implementers, providing little input on project design and direction: 'We were doing their work for them.' Teachers also questioned the relevance of innovations that were being introduced: 'They have all the time to think of ideas because we're too busy doing their work implementing their project, and in the end it doesn't work because they don't know our students.' The need for situating practice in the site and for involving participants actively in project design and direction came across loud and clear in the use of 'they' versus 'us' in teacher talk about the project.

Conclusion

In addressing issues of sustainability we are focussing on the stakeholders on site, not just teachers and school administrators, but learners themselves. In reading their worlds and their futures we seek to mediate past, present and future as seen by participants on site, as well as the macro-world of policy and the micro-world of realities on site. The anthropological stance serves to situate our concerns in the particular circumstances of site. As Street (2001:1) observes:

> In many literacy projects, 'literacy experts' and planners have made prior assumptions about the needs and desires of beneficiaries. A number of literacy projects in recent years have challenged these assumptions by stressing that before launching into literacy programs and interventions it is necessary to understand the

> literacy practices that target groups and communities are already engaged in. Researchers trained in 'ethnography' — that is using field work methods and sensitised ways of discovering and observing uses and meanings of literacy practices themselves — have conducted studies into these everyday practices and their relationship to the programs designed to alter them. Their findings are now being included from the earliest stages of projects and fed into campaign design and development.

In adopting an anthropological stance, one is open to possibilities and seeing through a variety of lenses. This openness to possibilities is critical to sustainability, and focuses on the project process. In a sense, the nature of the project process and its sustainability over the long run might be viewed metaphorically as the Banyan tree. The process of rooting may originate from any of the branches of the project, and it is the role of the ethnographer-consultant-curriculum developer to identify and later nurture potential growth nodes, allowing the roots to emerge and eventually take root. Because the entire process is driven by participants on site (with consultants playing a catalytic role), the outcomes may not be completely predictable, and may not always take the shape or form originally envisaged. The process is organic, and may as the lesson of the ruins of Angkor remind us, sometimes even lead to the potential displacement of old ways and structures. Here, I am reminded of another organic metaphor, the coral gardens, which Adrian Holliday uses to underscore the cultural complexity of the classroom or school life. The coral garden is home to myriad life forms, all incredibly complex and interrelated. What can be seen constitutes epiphenomena — 'mere surface manifestations of far more complex things under the surface.' The tools of interpretative ethnography help to fathom this complexity and it is this stance of 'anthropological humility and openness' that ensures that projects are sustainable in the long run. And in the longer run, when projects run their full course, the anthropological stance has the potential of ensuring that the interpretative spirit of openness to possibilities lives on, birthing new projects with their own lifespans and coral gardens.

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21 Second languages and ethnic and linguistic diversity in Laos

Souvanvixay Mythong, Nouannavong Onekeo, Keovongsa Khounmi & Gary Ovington

Lao PDR is a very poor country. In remote and isolated rural areas, many people do not have access to basic services, such as a school or a health clinic. Many people do not have enough to eat at all times of the year. The government of Lao PDR has been trying to improve the quality of life for all its people. The government recognises that education is essential for the development of the country. Education is important for breaking the cycle of poverty. An important part of this is primary education for everybody. In Lao PDR about half the people are ethnic minority. These people speak a language other than Lao, the national language. This raises important issues about language and its role in development.

Literacy rates are often used to indicate access to education. According to recent data released to the National Conference on Education in July 2001, the literacy rate in Lao PDR is 73%. However, overall literacy rates hide the fact that many ethnic minorities, especially women, cannot read or write. This group is the most illiterate, the poorest and the least healthy. In one small ethnic group, the Musir, only 0.4% of females are literate.

The government has introduced a number of important education reforms over the past 10 years. This has coincided with the implementation of two large multilateral projects. Curriculum reform has been targeted across all sectors. Despite these projects and reforms, ethnic minorities, particularly girls, have benefited little. Many still do not go to school and most do not complete the five grades of primary school. In fact, according to MOE's latest statistics, only about 40% of all students entering Grade 1 complete the full primary cycle to Grade 5. This figure is much worse for ethnic minorities, particularly girls. And the 40% figure does not take into account the proportion of students who do not even enter Grade 1. Most of these are ethnic minorities.

There are many reasons for this state of affairs. These include:

- poor health and nutrition — caused by poverty;
- poverty leading to child labour in homes, the forest and looking after animals;
- lack of a school within walking distance;
- lack of a teacher or a properly trained and qualified teacher who understands the children's special needs;

- no teaching and learning materials (books, paper);
- relevance and quality of teaching and learning materials;
- language of instruction;
- little recognition of the value of education by ethnic minorities.

This paper focuses on only one of these major issues, but a very important one, language. Specifically, this paper focuses on curriculum and materials development for second language learners. Other aspects of the larger project have been designed to address these other issues. There are five parts in this paper:

- Context for second language materials development
- What is CLE?
- How effective is CLE?
- LABEP
- Issues.

Context for second language materials development

Part of the reason why general education and curriculum reform had not been successful with ethnic minority groups was because it had not specifically targeted the needs of these disadvantaged groups, particularly their language learning needs.

The Lao Front for National now recognises 49 distinct ethnic groups in Lao PDR. These can be grouped into four major ethno-linguistic families:

1. Tai-Kadai — includes Lao and Thai plus minority groups such as Thai Dam, Thai Daeng, Leu;
2. Austro-Asiatic — includes the indigenous Khmhu, the largest non-Lao group;
3. Hmong-Mien — includes Hmong;
4. Tibeto-Burman — includes Phounoy, Akkha.

The education of ethnic minorities is very sensitive in Lao PDR. At the present time, the Ministry of Education has a policy of Lao as the language of instruction for all levels of schooling, including primary. This is a big challenge, because the four major language families sometimes differ widely in their cultural and linguistic needs. Any attempt to develop general materials for the whole country in such a context is difficult.

The major problem with the mainstream Lao language materials is that they assume, even from Grade 1, that the children can already understand and speak Lao language. While this is a reasonable assumption with first language learners, it is clearly not a good assumption with second language learning ethnic minorities in rural Lao. This means that any attempt to develop second language learning materials in Lao must place a large emphasis on oral language in the early grades (many people argue that this is also important for first language learners).

This issue was first recognised in 1996 when a team of Lao language educators from the National Research Institute for Educational Sciences (NRIES) travelled to Bangkok, Thailand, to study Concentrated Language Encounters (CLE). This was a second language learning approach originally developed in the 1980s for Aboriginal children in Central Australia. The approach was imported to Thailand.

What is CLE?

Concentrated Language Encounters recognises that literacy is built upon sound oral language skills. The approach uses a number of methods to involve the children and their language in the development of these skills. Listening and speaking are considered essential to the program, which also focuses on reading and writing.

More specifically, CLE uses shared experiences between teacher and students, such as reading a story, going on an excursion, baking a cake, dissecting a frog, dancing. These experiences are used for developing oral language skills first. Next, reading and writing skills build on this oral language. It is best to have a teacher who shares the language and culture of the children, but this is very difficult. Sometimes nobody from the ethnic minority group has completed primary school. Sometimes the village is of mixed ethnicity, a product of migration and resettlement, free and forced.

Originally, the teaching of CLE was divided into three modules: Module 1 materials were for Grades 1 and 2; Module 2 for Grades 3 and 4; and Module 3 for Grade 5.

How effective is CLE?

CLE has been used with considerable success in a number of different contexts: Aboriginal Australia, Thailand, Nepal, Brazil, Solomon Islands, South Africa. A significant amount of this growth has been associated with Sirakharinwirot University in Bangkok. During the 1996-97 school year, the team began trialling CLE materials that they had begun to develop. They used Module 1 materials for 4 months in second semester with Grade 1 and 2 ethnic minority children in 9 schools in two provinces, Vientiane and Bolikhamxai. These are the least remote of Lao's 18 provinces. Two of the four major language families were represented. The team conducted baseline measures of language proficiency. They also tested nine control schools.

Considerable improvements were noted in the 9 schools using CLE. These were confirmed by classroom observation and interviews with a wide range of people, including teachers, principals, parents, community, PAs, district staff, provincial staff, MOE staff.

NRIES followed up their studies the following year (1997-98), then again in 1998-1999. Similar findings prevailed with wider samples, including using Module 2 with Grades 3 and 4. By the third year of study, 1,200 children were involved. NRIES was ready to expand their approach.

Lao Australia Basic Education Project

By the time the Lao Australia Basic Education Project (LABEP) started in April 1999, NRIES had established a successful approach to second language learning with Lao as the national language. Some materials had been developed, trainers had been trained and had themselves trained teachers in at least 12 schools. However, the approach had not been tried in the most remote and difficult areas of the country. Nor had it been tried on a large scale. In this project, we are now in the beginning stages of this process.

LABEP wanted to work in 50 districts. They operated in only 12 districts in six provinces during the first three years (Phase 1), but expanded to another 38 districts in a total of 11 provinces after three years. This is still considered ambitious.

LABEP is one component of the overall Basic Education Girls Project (BEGP). The short-term objective of the overall project is to expand access to improved primary education for children, particularly girls, in ethnic minority areas. The other components focus on school construction and education management information systems (EMIS). The specific objective of Component 2, LABEP, is to improve the relevance, quality and efficiency of primary education, mainly for girls, in the ethnic minority areas of Laos, mainly through assistance in the areas of curriculum development, teacher education and on-site advice to, and supervision of, teachers.

Developing the curriculum and materials

NRIES had responsibility for curriculum and materials development. This paper refers only to this work. But it is important to recognise that the development of curriculum and materials is part of a much larger project. The materials are being used to train teacher educators at national, provincial and district level. Teacher educators from the Provincial Teacher Training Colleges are running a pre-service program and district trainers are running an in-service program, ultimately for 4,000 teachers.

There were two significant aspects to NRIES' work. First, actually developing and writing the books. Second, bringing these books to camera-ready stage with typesetting, layout, illustrations and cover design.

After completing a primary curriculum survey with NRIES in 1999, it was decided to build on the work already done under the CLE Project. The approach was to be used with Lao language as well as all other subjects, but especially mathematics. A teachers' guide, a games book for teachers, and a student book were to be made for Lao language across Grades 1 to 3, a total of 9 books. For mathematics a total of 6 books was scheduled across Grades 1 to 3, a Teacher Guide and a Student Book for each grade. In addition to these 15 books another six books were scheduled in 'Life Skills' and 'Multigrade'. These are long and difficult topics in themselves. We will not address these issues here. Rather, we will focus mainly on the nine Lao language books. Six of these have been printed for the 12 Phase 1 districts. We are still working on the other three.

A team of six writers worked on the Lao Language materials: three men and three women. Dr Onekeo, with us today, headed this team. One man was a second language learner himself and had taught Lao as a second language in Japan. Three writers were from NRIES, one was from the English Department at the National University of Laos (NUOL) at Dong Dok, the other two were both women. They had joint roles: primary principals in the municipality and pedagogical advisers (PAs), also in the municipality.

An adviser in Second Language Teaching (SLT) worked with this team for five months, chiefly on the Lao language materials, but also on the maths. An adviser in gender and minorities issues also had input into the professional development of teams over a period of three months. Working with the SLT, the team grafted another approach onto CLE, the DO-TALK-RECORD model, an approach originally developed in the 1970s for teaching Aboriginal children mathematics in the Northern Territory of Australia.

Simply, this approach emphasises that each child should be given an opportunity within every lesson to actually DO an activity, to be able to TALK about this activity, and to find some way to RECORD the activity (including writing, drawing). The framework outlined below guides teacher lesson planning.

Table 1: LABEP Model

Oral	**Written**
1. Introduce new language in context *brainstorm a topic, community event, game, song, excursion, book, picture, chart, picture sequence, activities, guest speaker.*	1. Introduce new language in context *book, chart, class or student story, newspaper*
2. Teachers model the use of the new language *word game, role play, game, retell, vocabulary*	2. Teacher models the use of the new language *cloze, negotiated text, sequencing activities, study of text structure, word games, dictionary skills*
3. Support students to use and practise *word game, role play, game, retell, vocabulary*	3. Support students to use and practise *cloze, negotiated text, sequencing activities, study of text structure, word games, dictionary skills*
4. Independent use of language *students develop own story and own sentences, song, role-play, etc.*	4. Independent use of language *students reading and writing their own texts*

The team worked from the beginning under an extremely tight time-frame. Six books to be developed to camera-ready quality within 12 months and nine books within 20 months. The adviser in 'multigrade materials development' worked with the teams on scheduling. A full-time Materials Development Coordinator (MDC), Ms Khounmi, also here today, was seconded from NRIES to coordinate the work of the four writing teams: final editing and proofing, illustrations, cover designs. Illustrations were contracted out, as were the covers, but all layout was done in-house. In fact, the entire camera-ready copy was prepared in-house at NRIES. The MDC was assisted by two other women who were responsible for layout. These women were full-time employees of NRIES. I, Dr Mythong, Deputy Director of NRIES, was responsible for the day-to-day management of the entire curriculum and materials development process.

Part of this thrust to develop materials is to get something out to the schools. Most remote schools lack all basic essentials, possessing at best a few stumps of chalk. Additionally, a 'Teaching and Learning Kit' is planned for development to accompany the texts, but still useable in their own right. The focus of these kits is to be on sustainability, giving teachers the tools and the know-how to produce their own materials and resources (e.g. simple saws, hammers).

Trialling the materials

At this stage, only texts for Grades 1 and 2 have been developed and printed. The Grade 1 materials were trialled in two distinct areas. Perhaps 'trialled' is too strong a word. 'Tried-out' better reflects the nature of the exercise. Basic feedback was sought on the content of the book (interest, enjoyment, accuracy) and on its layout (illustrations, design). Only photocopies of materials were provided. The first schools to try the materials were in Thatheng and Lamam districts in Sekong Province in the far south of Lao. The second in schools in La and Namo districts in Oudomxai Province in the north. Representatives of all four major language groups were included in the sample. A total of 10 schools participated.

The try-outs consisted of two parts:

1. training
2. test/observation/evaluation

In the training part, the curriculum writers held a weeklong workshop with the district personnel responsible for delivering the in-service program and supporting the pre-service program for ethnic minority women teachers. The classroom teachers to be used in the try out also attended, five in the north, five in the south. This training included practice teaching sessions in village schools on two days. Here the focus was on getting the district personnel and the teachers familiar with the materials and their use in classroom situations.

The Evaluation Team (members of the writing team) returned after one month to observe the teacher using the materials in his/her classroom, and to talk about any difficulties, issues, to share observations, give feedback, and so on. Meetings were also held with the principal if s/he was not the practising teacher.

Formal testing of the children was not done because current work on assessment and evaluation has only begun at NRIES, and present procedures are not always a good indicator of learning, especially if a communicative criterion of language competence is put forward. However, the Evaluation Team did follow up their classroom observations and teacher and principal interviews by talking with community members about the teaching and learning.

Everybody was enthusiastic about the approach and seemed to think it worked well. This is not surprising. At least some of the enthusiasm is because the class didn't have enough learning materials before. The try-outs were conducted with photocopies. The books have been printed and printed well. With glossy colour covers they are even more attractive than previously (a common piece of feedback). There is no doubt that simply having materials is a significant factor. A second is related to the actual materials themselves. They have been specially designed for second language learners living in remote areas. In practical terms this means that the materials address the fundamental issue that the mainstream materials do not. That is, that if students are to attain good literacy in a second language they need to build on their oral language skills in the second language.

Issues

What have been the issues in developing second language learning materials for the target group?

1. Diversity of target group — how good can general second language learning materials be in situations of such linguistic and cultural diversity?

2. Lack of knowledge of many languages (and thus lack of knowledge of learner needs).

3. Composition of curriculum team — use of classroom practitioners or PAs.

These issues raise more fundamental questions about the role of curriculum development. In Lao PDR, as in many countries, curriculum development is still a top-down process. It is designed at national level and there is scope for some 'local curriculum' at school-based level. In practice it is difficult to complete the Lao language and maths components of the national curriculum. Ideally, we would like to speak of teachers involved in the process of curriculum development. At this stage, we struggle to get teachers who can complete the primary curriculum. Low and tardy teacher salaries decrease motivation.

The present project attempts to account for these depressed conditions. Provision of second language learning materials for teachers and students is only part of a much bigger effort to bring relevant and quality education to ethnic minority girls in Lao PDR. Ultimately, 425 multigrade schools will be built. Teaching and learning materials (books, kits) will be provided to almost 2,000 schools, and 4,000 teachers will receive training in the use of these materials. A Pedagogical Adviser (PA) support network, established previously at district level, has been extended and this group will take responsibility for delivery of the Inservice Program and assist in the Preservice Program for ethnic minority teachers.

Conclusion

Improving the quality of life for ethnic minorities has become a priority in Lao PDR. The government sees education as very important for this development. The Basic Education Girls Project (BEGP) is one example of this priority. This paper has described one particular aspect of this project: the development of second language learning curriculum and materials in an attempt to improve the relevance, quality and efficiency of education for ethnic minorities, especially girls.

22 A distance education program in an area of ethnic insurgency

Richard Sproat

Burma over the last 50 years has presented a dismal picture of turmoil and decline: government by military junta for a third of a century; a communist insurgency for half a century; myriad ethnic nationalist uprisings, some of them large and still active, none of them yet successful; the emergence of large-scale narco-politics, with Burma the source of one third of the world's opium; a humanitarian crisis along stretches of international border and elsewhere; general economic impoverishment; and in the period until very recently, widespread international exclusion.

In earlier periods, Burma held economic and social promise. In 1905, it was the largest exporter of rice in the world, and as late as 1970, more people there had access to safe water than in Thailand — the figures were 18% and 17% of the populations, yet by 1993, the figure for Burma was 38%, and the figure for Thailand 80% (World Bank 2001). By the end of the century, Thailand was a middle-ranking country, while Burma was one of the ten poorest in the world, having been admitted to Least Developed Country status at the United Nations (UN) in 1987.

In the process that led from richly promising ex-colony to the catastrophe of The Burmese Way to Socialism and civil war, there are two themes that loom large: the ethnic question — the bewildering array of ethnic nationalities and the domination by one of them, the Burmans, and the consequences of that; and the long, failed communist insurrection which at its height involved the support of China and a number of ethnic armies in north-east Burma. The communist revolution is well beyond the scope of this paper, but the ethnic question, in one way or another, is at the very centre of it.

The distance education program described in this paper serves people displaced by armed conflict in Burma, and these have mainly been ethnic minority peoples. The following sections try to give some information on the ethnic uplands and the border areas, which are the places where people have been pushed in to and which are currently the main locus of the conflict, before focussing on the language issue, which is the inevitable and somewhat difficult context of any educational program in the region.

The Burmese ethnic minority areas

Burma is a system of valleys surrounded by a horseshoe of densely forested mountains and the sea. Fifty years ago there were just three roads connecting the Burman heartland to other countries, and after World War II all of these fell into disuse. The upland border areas have always had tenuous links with central political power. During the British colonial period, whose beginnings go back to 1828 and which lasted half a century until independence in 1947, the British created buffers on the periphery, as they did in north India. For example, in Karen State, on the border with Thailand, a policy of 'customary law' allowed the Karens to continue administering their territory essentially undisturbed by the British.

International borders remained undefined until within living memory, and the Thai-Burma border along Karen State, for example, was a political buffer zone right up to the present era. In the early 1950s The Times reported seeing 1000 heavily armed Kuomint'ang (KMT) Chinese nationalist soldiers and other militias in Mae Sod, a Thai western border town, and noted that Chiang Mai was in effect a rear KMT base for United States-backed operations in north-east Burma against China. And in the 1980s, the Karen National Union (KNU), the largest of the Burma ethnic opposition groups, was the de facto government along the entire Karen State border zone, in an unspoken alliance with the Thai government to prevent the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) linking up with the Communist Party of Burma at a critical period in Southeast Asia. It was only in the late 1980s that the CPT collapsed. (Smith 1999:153, 299) Today the Burma-Thai border remains an area of armed conflict, with frequent incidents and incursions, including the occasional shelling of towns.

Ethnic and political complexity

A map of Burma's ethnic groups roughly matches the physical geography — a Burman heartland surrounded by a multitude of other ethnicities. The Karen include no less than 20 separate sub-groups, and in Chin State, there are over 40 Chin sub-groups. Over 100 languages have been identified in Burma. You live on one hill over here and look over to the village over there, and the fellow over there speaks a completely different language from you.

The complexities of terrain and ethnicity pass over into political complexity. Smith (1999) lists 34 principal armed ethnic opposition groups in Burma in 1998. In 1999, the 20 sub-groups of the Karen alone were represented by four separate armed groups, reduced from six in 1990. 'The region hosts a greater variety of insurgent and ethnic armies than perhaps any other place on earth. In sheer complexity, the insurgent politics of north-east Burma is matched only by that of Afghanistan and Lebanon' (Smith 1999:31, 310 and frontispiece chart 3).

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Neglect of minority ethnic areas

Smith (1999:203) points out that, with one exception, there are no universities in any of the ethnic states, and similarly, there are no scientific, educational or development projects that benefit local communities. Burmese government projects are often infrastructure projects, and serve both to extend military control to grey (i.e. unstable) areas, and to provide the means of extracting resources and shipping them back to the metropolitan heartland, a pattern than can also be seen in western China: a hydroelectric scheme for the Salween River, a railway down the Andaman coast towards the Unocal pipeline, roads in Karen State, one of them to a mine previously under the control of the KNU, and a road parallel to the Thai-Shan border, reportedly to facilitate backpacking of drugs to Thailand.

There has been very little data collection comparing the ethnic states with the Burman heartland, but what data there are appear to show significant differences. Mortality data indicate malaria-related deaths along the Thai-Burma border at about 50 per 100,000, compared to 22 nationally, but this difference may have complex causes. The illiteracy rate for women in Karen refugee camps in Thailand is 43%, whereas for Burmese adult women it is 22% (ZOA 2000, World Bank 2001). Other figures are presented in the section ‘Relief and development’ below.

Ceasefires and stalemate

Of the 34 main armed ethnic opposition groups in Burma in 1998 listed by Smith, 23 reached ceasefire agreements with Rangoon between 1989 and 1995. There is no fighting, but there is no political cooperation. In both Kachin and Mon States, politicians describe the situation following the ceasefires as being better for ordinary people, but essentially a political stalemate.

In Kachin State one politician complained of the ‘creeping Burmanisation’ of the ceasefire zone, including a gradual takeover of key commercial areas, such as jade, which previously had been under the control of the insurgents. In most ceasefire zones there are pockets of ethnic control where military and political headquarters are located; in some cases educational institutions have been set up which promote education in English and ethnic languages.

Refugees and internally displaced people

The position of people displaced by armed conflict is different along different borders of Burma, and different again for those who remain inside Burma. On the Thai border there are camps for refugees fleeing fighting and persecution, mainly from areas along the border line. Although Thailand is not a signatory to the 1951 Convention on Refugees, these people are essentially treated as refugees, although their treatment is in some respects below international standard — they do not have freedom of movement, and some people fleeing persecution are not recognised as refugees, and there have been many instances of people being returned across the border against their will. There are about 135,000 refugees in camps, most of them Karen. In addition, in Thailand there are more than one million economic migrants, i.e. people fleeing the wider consequences of Burmese government policies.

In the north-east Indian state of Misoram, there are about 40,000 mainly Chin refugees, including some who have fled political persecution. All are regarded as economic migrants by the Indian government, and are repatriated if arrested. Most work in menial jobs, such as handloom weaving, and a small proportion, perhaps 2%, of younger, better educated and more active people reach Delhi, from where some are able to gain placement in third countries or enter the Indian education system. There are also smaller numbers of displaced people in China and Bangladesh.

Internally displaced people (IDPs) suffer a worse fate than refugees. In areas of the ethnic fringe states where the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) has regained partial control, this has happened via a policy of forced relocations similar to the 'strategic hamlet' policy of the US government during the Vietnam War. The plight of villagers who choose not to remain in military-controlled relocation sites, but who are unable or unwilling to cross to Thailand, is harsh.

In Taungoo district of Northern Karen State, the SPDC was laying landmines on both sides of the road, thus making it impossible for IDPs to reach other areas in the district. Most of the IDPs were hiding out in the jungle, barely surviving on small quantities of rice and forest plants. Troops were shelling areas in an attempt to flush people out, following the villagers further into the jungle, as well as looting and destroying any properties, paddy barns and rice stores discovered.

The number of IDPs in Karen, Karenni and Shan States cannot be verified exactly, but runs into the many thousands. One estimate is that in the first half of 2000, 50,000 were displaced and in September 2000, there were 6,000 people living rough.

Relief and development

International non-government organisations (NGOs) have been at the Thai border since 1984, coordinated by a non-UNHCR official committee, providing food, shelter, health and education services. Health and education services are much better in camps than across the border, and in the case of health services, better than the surrounding Thai areas. This has led to criticism that camps are magnets for people in search of health and education services.

Across the border, there are SPDC schools in towns, but in the grey areas opposition-controlled schools shift location as the military situation changes; many schools are without the most basic materials. A typical recent report was of a village where the school had to close because there was no longer enough rice to feed a schoolteacher. In areas such as these, schools are supported with materials and some mobile teaching and teacher training from Burmese and international organisations based on the Thai side; similarly there are mobile health clinics and backpack health teams who provide basic services. Attendance at schools in grey areas is poor, perhaps as low as 20%, for a variety of reasons including poor health of children, and early marriages in the case of girls. Only about 1.5% of children who enrol for primary school graduate from high schools. The figure for Burma as a whole is 2%.

In ceasefire areas, the day to day living conditions of people are better, and political organisations have been able to create stable institutions to provide health and education services. Typical education institutions might include middle and high schools, a teacher training institute and an agricultural institute; and there are one or two examples of tertiary colleges each with perhaps a hundred boarding students studying English, computing and some other subjects.

On the Indian side there is no UNHCR presence and NGOs are banned, although a few operate informally. Migrants are obliged to do what they can to gain access to Indian state facilities. In Misoram, it is Burman ethnic people who speak only Burmese who are at a disadvantage in a state where the language of education is Miso, i.e. Chin.

The ethnic health and education departments of political organisations continue to exist, even where all territory has been lost; on the Thai side they play a role in camps, and they also continue to attempt oversight of community schools in the grey territory inside. In the camps, they have generally given over all control of health services to foreign NGOs, whereas they continue to administer schools. Previously, NGOs provided just basic education materials, but more recently there has been an expanded mandate, and NGOs now provide services according to their interest. NGOs have asserted massive influence via training, and their sensitivity of response has been mixed. In one case some of the refugee teachers who were trained in a demanding interactive teaching approach, using the syllabus and unmodified materials of another country, continued quietly to use old methods and materials, and dusted off their new model lessons whenever there was an inspection.

In the Thailand camps opposite Karen State, some basic education statistics are shown in Table 1:

	Women	**Men**
Tertiary education	0%	7%
Some education	49%	71%
Literate	57%	74%

ZOA Refugee Care

Table 1: Education & literacy

About 60% of the Karen camp population is Christian, and about 30% Buddhist; the corresponding literacy rates for these groups are 83% and 33%. (ZOA 2000:5-9). For comparison UNICEF (2001) reports overall Burma adult literacy rates as 88% for men and 78% for women.

The Distance Education Program

In many communities the shortage of skills is so severe that anyone with even a modest amount of education or skill is pressed into service. DEP was created to fill an education gap without the need to remove such people from their jobs and communities which, it was argued, cannot function without them, even temporarily. Distance education was chosen as an efficient means to this end.

The skill area identified as a critical one was community management, which covered a range of communication and management functions. A course was sourced in Australia, from an Aboriginal setting, and was rewritten, in English, for people from the ethnic states of Burma. It carried a Certificate III in the Australian Technical and Further Education system. The program began in 1998, and the first 22 community management students graduated towards the end of 2000.

An English language support program was built alongside the Community Management Certificate course, intended as a feeder program. Three years later, the ELT program stands in its own right, although it still acts as a feeder, and there is also a Certificate Primary Health Care course in a pilot phase.

DEP courses are delivered along all the borders of Burma, together with a few other locations, such as New Delhi, where there are displaced people. Although each component of DEP is called a distance program, the delivery is different for each. Community management is a correspondence course, delivered to clusters of students living in a particular locality, with each cluster supported by a student adviser, and a group of student advisers supported by a field office. As well as individual study, there are regular face-to-face workshops which rework the study material. The ELT program is essentially a face-to-face program given by teachers from Burma, in locations spread across a very wide area, with (in theory, at least) teacher training and other support, plus some other distance strands added on. The Primary Health Care certificate is delivered, in its pilot phase, in a complex mixture of correspondence course in English, with study facilitators, an integrated and customised English language support program, plus intensive workshops every six months in local languages to pre-work or re-work study materials.

DEP is funded via three government aid projects in a complex sharing of facilities, personnel and intellectual property. The perspective of the funders varies from the humanitarian-aid-development to the democratic-political-development.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, DEP is an organisation staffed mostly by exiled Burmese, including senior staff and a board of management. And, its parent committee, the National Health and Education Committee (NHEC), is part of an exile and ethnic-border-based opposition to the Rangoon military government, which it should be noted has no formal links with the main opposition party within Burma, the National League for Democracy. DEP therefore exists in a highly politicised environment, and is itself highly politicised. There are continuing issues concerned with ownership (in its widest sense) of the organisation, the security of staff, and the culture of the workplace.

The language issue

As pointed out above, over 100 languages have been identified in Burma. The following remarks apply to just two or three languages and ethnicities lying mostly along the Thai-Burma border. Many people who grew up in revolutionary areas or in Thai border camps cannot speak Burmese, the national language of their home country. At school in camps or in grey areas, children now study Burmese as a second or foreign language. In the camps there are also better-educated people who are able to speak Burmese because they grew up away from the border area, and went to schools where the language of education was Burmese.

During the British occupation of Karen State, there were many different kinds of school. Karen Christians went mainly to Christian schools, which taught and examined in Karen and English. After independence, there were government and private schools with freedom of choice; but the private schools were abolished after Ne Win's 1962 coup.

After that time Karen effectively ceased to be used in schools. Although it remained in the Burmese curriculum at primary school level only, according to one informant, 'practically they provide no teachers, so that means there are no Karen teachers in schools'. The same informant talks about other aspects of Burmanisation:

> When census is taken, any Karen or any other ethnic person, those who cannot speak or write their language they are counted as Burman. And if their religion is Buddhist, they are counted as Burman. This is Burmanisation. I experienced it when I was in university.

The speaker is a Sgaw Karen, from the eastern hills. The languages Sgaw and Pwo Karen correspond to the two largest of about 20 ethnic sub-divisions of the Karen (Smith 1999:30, footnote 7). Most Pwo Karen live in the Delta area, and many of them cannot read or write their own language following education in Burmese. The Pwo Karen who are mainly Buddhist, compared to the mainly Christian Sgaw Karen, have also suffered from the language policies of the Karen National Union (KNU) who controlled the eastern hills for many years. At a congress in the early 1990s, a group of Pwo Karen from Dooplaya complained that in their area both the students and the teachers were Pwo Karen, but were obliged to teach and learn in Sgaw Karen using materials written in Sgaw Karen. They asked for the policy to be changed. They were refused.

KNU language policy is that all subjects (other than language study) should be taught in the mother tongue up to and including middle school, with a special emphasis on compliance in primary schools. Seven hours per week are spent each on the Karen and English languages, and four hours on Burmese.

Burmese, being the language of the enemy, can be an object of emotion in Karen schools; they have negative attitudes towards the Burmans, they have negative attitudes towards the Burmese language. When I was a teacher, some students asked me, 'Is there a school that doesn't teach the Burmese language?' Many students didn't want to learn Burmese, because their idea is against the Burman people.

The KNU, one of many groups that have not reached a ceasefire agreement with the SPDC, subscribes to a federal model for a political settlement in Burma, in which both Burmese and English will be national languages, and in which education will be possible in a range of ethnic languages. This policy is in accord with the UN declaration on the language rights of minorities:

> In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

A narrower policy is followed by Karenni State, lying just to the north of Karen State, where some ethnic subgroups of the Karen, mainly the Kayah, live. The largest armed political organisation in the area, the Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP), aims at independence from the Union of Burma. An independence option was written into the 1947 Burma Constitution, following anomalous treatment of the Karenni by the British, but this has always been resisted by Rangoon governments. The language policy of the KNPP is consistent with its main political aim. In July 2001 an announcement confirmed English as the sole language of further education, and restricted the teaching of Burmese to primary schools. Some ethnic commentators argue for a continuing role for the Burmese language:

> The role of Burmese, if you are fighting the Burmese, you have to know their language or you cannot debate. That's the underlying idea. That's why it's a necessary subject.

The Karenni language has been recorded in no fewer than three scripts: one using the roman alphabet (probably created by missionaries); one using modified Burmese script; and the most recent created by the then Karenni Prime Minister Bu Phe in 1994, using a script which appears to be less Burmese, but which according to some has been designed to include a number of different languages making up the ethnicity 'Karenni'. Anecdotal evidence suggests that just a small percentage of the population is able to read the newest script, although it is in use in official ceremonies and school learning materials. It would be easy to jump to conclusions about the connotations of the various scripts, but that research has not been done.

Finally, to put the Karenni question into the context of complexity and fragmentation in Burma, in a country with a population of 45 million, there are probably 15 million ethnic minority people, and the population of Karenni State is about 112,000.

The language issue for a tertiary distance education program

How can a tertiary distance education program deal with the patchwork of ethnicities, languages and politics outlined above? The following remarks describe DEP's responses to the language issue over a period of years.

DEP's parent body, the National Health and Education Committee, whose members are ethnic and other opposition groups, has had a policy since 1993 that tertiary education should be in English, and earlier efforts at preparing students for higher education have been in line with this policy. DEP was established in 1997, and its first offerings, as described above, were a Certificate III in Community Management (CM), in English, together with a feeder ELT program. Certificate CM had a target language level for the study materials of about pre-intermediate, and the ELT course was designed to take students from elementary up to the point where they could enrol for Certificate CM.

Surprisingly, the data on English language literacy in the eastern border has not been collected. DEP's entrance test results throw little light on this question. In a 1998 test, about 11% of applicants were enrolled into Community Management, with the rest accepted into the preparatory ELT course. In another entrance test in 2000, 23% of a much smaller number of applicants (358 as against 1099) were enrolled, using a very similar test.

Informal estimates are that a few percentage points of people along the eastern border are able to access higher education in English, but that perhaps 10% could access it in Burmese (AusAID 2001:6).

On the basis of these estimates, and in order to widen the reach of its courses, since 1998, DEP has been translating all of its courses into Burmese, with the aim of accrediting them with the South Australian government, and offering them in that language. The informal evidence of Burmese-language trials in 2000 and 2001 is that in assignments in Burmese, students' writing is richer and less mechanical, includes more developed and relevant examples, and contains an apparently better quality of reflection. It has to be noted that participants in this trial have been mother-tongue Burmese speakers, in contrast to second-language speakers of English who have made up most of DEP's students to date.

DEP's Primary Health Care training program, which is now in a pilot phase, is the subject of a related paper. The ethnic diversity and inaccessibility of the enrolled students, and their low levels of English, have presented a formidable challenge for a course delivered in English. The correspondence self-study model, which is a starting-point, has been strengthened by three support systems: two weeks of intensive workshops a year where study materials are re-worked or pre-worked in a local language, with written materials also in a local language; a state of the art EAP support program with integrated and customised language practice materials; and mobile study facilitators to support mobile students, together with counselling support during and after periods of EAP study.

Finally — and this program has not yet begun — the Community Management Extension Program is an attempt to reach, via local language workshops, the many people who would like to benefit from DEP's study materials, but who do not want to enrol for an entire certificate course, and who may not have English either. Workshops will be organised by community management graduates, will be supported by local language materials, and a limited number of certificate modules will be available in Sgaw Karen, so that participants can get a glimpse of what enrolment on a full certificate course would involve.

DEP is a publisher, and makes available its study materials to other organisations who then pick and choose for their own training programs. Currently, all this happens in English, but it is likely that in future years there will be a broadening of the language base of DEP study materials. The policy changes described here have occurred ad hoc, as responses to needs seen at particular times. DEP's parent body retains its English-only policy for tertiary study, but that policy has not been enforced.

It is an interesting question whether DEP can continue to diversify linguistically, given the cost of translation (especially accredited translation), and the likely demand of different ethnic groups for even-handedness. Demands are likely to come from speakers of Chin, Jingpaw (Kachin) and Mon, to name just three ethnic groups with which DEP now works.

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23 A sustainable testing system for distance education in Vietnam

Quoc Hung Tran

Together with the development of teaching and learning English all over the world, Vietnam has changed its curricula and methodologies so as to catch up with the state-of-the-art tendency. The enhancement of specialised knowledge for English language teachers around the country is thus necessary. However, how to organise classes to upgrade these teachers is a problem. This is because they must ensure they are teaching well while they go back to upgrade classes. Among the kinds of education which serve this purpose is distance education. Distance education is a suitable model in Vietnam because its timing fits in school. In addition, it stimulates the Vietnamese tradition of self-study. It is also new and exciting offering help where there was nothing before.

Distance education for English language teachers is rather new in Vietnam. It requires many conditions which are very challenging for our educational system. Therefore, it is hard for us to promote this program without the help of the English Language Teacher Training Project (ELTTP) sponsored by the United Kingdom. One of the interests of this program is how to bring English language teachers in Lower Secondary Schools (LSSs) up to the national standard (pre-intermediate) level before they begin the BA English Upgrade program. According to 'A Baseline Study' by the ELTTP, about 60% of teachers in LSSs in 22 provinces throughout the country require 240 hours of language improvement to get to this level, so the necessity of upgrading these teachers via distance learning is at the right time.

All English teachers in LSSs all over the country who have not held the BA degree have access to the language improvement course in the condition that they pass the Selection Test. After 240 hours of the language improvement, if they pass the Achievement Test, they will be given a certificate. Then they will be able to attend the BA English Upgrade program.

The scope of this paper revolves around the birth of the test specification documents, the Test Item Writing Workshops, and the piloting of the 'live' exams in different provinces. I am one of the members of the ELTTP testing team consisting of 18 people from different colleges, universities and institutes in Vietnam. The team worked under the supervision of the ELTTP Vietnam, and the instructions of experts on testing and assessment from the UK. We worked in harmony to share experience and knowledge about testing with a view to achieving purposes we planned. In this paper, I'd like to share this experience with you, especially those who are interested in designing a test system for a certain group of people in your country.

The birth of the test specification documents

Producing the test specification documents is the first thing we must do in designing any test system. A test specification is a detailed description of the test components. It must ensure that the test reflects the content and the balance of the syllabus. It also includes the number of questions to be answered, the question formats to be used, and the skills to be tested. Two tests built to the same specifications are not necessarily equivalent, but they are parallel. This assures the maintenance of comparable standards of tests from year to year. An item which 'fits' the specification is not necessarily a good item. Expert judgement must be used to assess the quality of each item.

In order to need the requirements of the test specification mentioned above, we attended workshops in 'English Language Assessment' from 5th to 9th February 2001. These workshops were group-based. Normally, at the beginning of each workshop, there was a brief introduction about one aspect of language testing and assessment followed by discussions. Then we worked in small groups on the issues which had just been exposed. During five days, we learned and practised a variety of issues related to language testing and assessment such as: (1) test purposes; (2) the role of the test syllabus: assessment objectives, scheme of assessment and description of components; (3) test design: skills, functions, context, level, weighting; (4) modes of assessment; (5) item formats; and (6) specification grids. In each issue we worked in groups and came to an agreement. Then we presented it to other groups, discussed it with them, got their feedback, and changed our product in order to fit the common test specifications. Following are two examples of test specification documents.

TEST PURPOSES

	Selection Test	Achievement Test
Who is being assessed?	Approximately 1,500 LSS teachers holding Junior Teacher Training Colleges qualifications	Approximately 1,000 LSS teachers on completion of the pre-intermediate language improvement program. The course is delivered via distance learning and is based on the Oxford University Press 'Lifelines'materials. These include a Student's Book, a Teacher's Book and a Workbook.

	Selection Test	Achievement Test
What is being assessed?	Reading Grammar and Vocabulary Listening	Reading Writing Grammar and Vocabulary Listening Speaking
When does the assessment take place?	6-8 weeks before the start of a language improvement program	Immediately after completing the pre-intermediate program
What is the purpose of the assessment?	To identify those candidates who will benefit from a language improvement program; To screen out those candidates whose level of English would not be sufficient to benefit from the program; To screen out those candidates whose language level is at or above pre-intermediate level and, hence, do not need the language improvement program.	To identify those candidates who will benefit from a teaching methodology program; To award certificates to successful candidates; To evaluate the language improvement program.

TEST SPECIFICATION GRIDS

SELECTION TEST

Paper 1: Test of Reading, Grammar & Vocabulary
1 hour 30 minutes 55 marks

Part	Main skill focus	Input	Responsive/item type	Number of marks	Skill weighting
1	grammar and vocabulary	discrete sentences with lexical and grammar gaps	x15, 3-option multiple choice	15	27%
2	reading for gist/specific information	narrative or factual text, approx. 200 words	x10, T/F/DS or 10 short answers	10	18%
3	grammar	narrative or factual text, approx. 150 words	x10, error correction: grammar, punctuation and spelling	10	18%
4	grammar or vocabulary	narrative or factual text, approx. 150-200 words	x10, open cloze grammar	10	18%
5	vocabulary	narrative or factual text, approx. 150-200 words	x10, 3-choice lexical gaps	10	18%
			Total	55	

Paper 2: Listening 20 minutes 20 marks

ACHIEVEMENT TEST

Part	Main skill focus	Input	Responsive/item type	Number of marks	Skill weighting
1	listening for specific information, vocabulary or gist	10 very short monologues or dialogues	x10, 3-option multiple choice pictures/ very short texts	10	50%
2	listening for detail or to check information	1 or 2 short monologues/ conversations	10 gaps (2x5), completing tables, forms, messages	10	50%
			Total	20	

Paper 1: Reading, Grammar & Vocabulary
1 hour 30 minutes 45 marks

Part	Main skill focus	Input	Responsive/item type	Number of marks	Skill weighting
1	reading for gist/specific information	narrative or factual text, approx. 250 words	x5, 4-option multiple choice	5	11%
2	reading for gist/specific information	narrative or factual text, approx. 200 words	x10, T/F/DS or 5 short answers	5	11%
3	reading and understanding text organisation	narrative or factual text, approx. 250 words	ordering: 5 gaps	5	11%
4	reading and vocabulary	narrative or factual text, approx. 150-200 words	x10, 4-option lexical gaps	10	22%
5	grammar and vocabulary	narrative or factual text, approx. 150 words	x8, error correction: grammar, punctuation and spelling	8	17%
6	grammar	narrative or factual text, approx. 150-200 words	x12, open cloze: grammar	12	26%
			Total	45	

Paper 2: Writing 30 minutes 20 marks

Part	Main skill focus	Input	Responsive/item type	Number of marks	Skill weighting
1	linking sentences, referencing	incomplete sentences or short texts	sentence completion/ transformation, combining part sentences, sequencing sentences	10	50%
2	short guided writing	short prompts	completing short letters, messages, narrative/ descriptive paragraphs	10	50%
			Total	20	

Paper 3: Listening 30 minutes 30 marks

Part	Main skill focus	Input	Responsive/item type	Number of marks	Skill weighting
1	listening for specific information	10 very short monologues or dialogues	x10, 3-option multiple choice pictures/very short texts	10	33%
2	listening for detail or to check information	2 short monologues/ conversations	12 gaps (2x6), completing tables, forms, messages	12	40%
3	listening for gist, intentions/ attitudes of speakers	1 longer monologue/ conversation	x8, multiple matching, ordering, T/F/DS	8	27%
			Total	30	

Testing and assessment are indispensable parts in any teaching program. They are a reflection of success as well as failure of learners, syllabuses, organisations and contents of the program. It is not easy to design a test which is valid, reliable and practical. A language test is even more difficult to design because it helps evaluate human beings' linguistic ability. Therefore, the test specifications are of great importance in the whole testing system. After lots of debates on the issue, we have produced feasible test specification documents, which provided a good foundation for us to reach another workshop on writing test items.

The Test Item writing workshops

Based on the test specifications document, we, the same testing team, attended another workshop on writing test items from 12th to 23rd March 2001. It was a really practical workshop. It provided us with much useful knowledge about testing and assessment. It helped us write test items more effectively. It also offered us a chance to look back at the tests we designed by ourselves so that we recognised their drawbacks and modified them into better ones.

Most of the workshop depended on us. We again worked in small groups to design two versions of the Selection Test and the Achievement Test.

The Selection Test consists of two papers: Paper 1: Reading, Grammar and Vocabulary (55 questions, 90 minutes). Paper 2: Listening (20 questions, 20 minutes).

The Achievement Test comprises Speaking Test (12 –15 minutes) and three papers: Paper 1: Reading, Grammar and Vocabulary (45 questions, 90 minutes). Paper 2: Writing (2 questions, 30 minutes). Paper 3: Listening (30 questions, 30 minutes).

Most of the papers were constructed based on objective questions of different types:

Multiple options — Discrete options

Multiple options — Text-based

Multiple options — True/False/ Doesn't say

Multiple matching

Cloze — with multiple options

Cloze — constructed response

Grammar gap-fill

Mixed gap-fill (grammar, vocabulary, etc.)

Table completion (grammar) — constructed response

Making word pairs

Structured writing tasks, etc.

The sources for writing test items were very authentic. They came from books, magazines, newspapers and the Internet, which were available in Vietnam. Each group was in charge of making one paper with two different versions. In each group we read the materials in order to determine the texts suitable to the given test specifications. We designed tests and presented them to other groups. Together we analysed the tests and changed some unreasonable points in them, and then we got the final products.

During the design of these tests, we learned some theory on testing and assessment, then applied it to our tests immediately. Theory and practice went hand-in-hand, so we could see how well theory worked in producing these tests. Of course, many disagreements emerged in the process of making the tests, but they were settled after every member in the testing team worked toward a common sense. I learned a lot in this item writing workshop. It helped formulate my own perspective on testing and assessment. However, I don't have any illustrations for these tests because of the security of the tests. Writing test items is never easy work. It requires much of our specialised knowledge, energy, time and money.

At the end of the workshop we had produced two different versions of each paper which were ready to use. We still would not know if they were really good tests until we piloted them.

From pre-test to pilot stage

It is necessary to do a pre-test and to pilot the test before they become efficient tests ready for use. The pre-test is considered a first draft which will need some changes, while the piloting of the test is the second draft, which is more scientific, used for a big number of candidates, and used to determine if it will work for our real purpose.

The pre-tests were carried out in two different places in South and Central Vietnam in June 2001. The ELTTP Selection Test was pre-tested on 133 candidates (multi-level university students). Although a reasonably large number of candidates were used, it was still too small for us to be confident that it was representative of the target population. However, we got an acceptable result that Paper 1 and Paper 2 had a correlation between scores. This value is comparable with that of international tests. In the meantime, The ELTTP Achievement Test was pre-tested on 34 candidates (LSS English teachers). The test result showed that these candidates were relatively homogeneous in ability, so they might not represent the full range to be expected in a live test. Nevertheless, we got the correlation between the scores on each part of the test with each other part, and with the total. Where a component correlates positively with other parts, it contributes to the reliability of the test.

After the two pre-tests, we got together in late June for test score analysis. The analysis of the test scores was computer-based. It was carried out using TiaPlus, an item analysis package developed and supplied by CITO, the national education measurement institute of The Netherlands. Below is an example of how the score of Part 2A of Paper 1 Grammar and Vocabulary of the ELTTP Selection Test is analysed: The table below gives the statistics for Part 2A.

Maximum possible	5	(100%)
Mean score (average)	4.32	(86.4%)
Standard deviation	0.86	(17.2%)

The statistics for the multiple-choice items are given below (True/False/Doesn't say)

		Proportion (%) choosing option			No response	Correlation item with test	Average as % score
Item	Key	T	F	D/S	NR	Rit	P-value
16	T	79*	17	5	0	0.58	79
17	T	85*	8	7	0	0.47	85
18	F	2	95*	3	0	0.42	95
19	D/S	1	5	95*	0	0.52	95
20	F	10	78*	12	0	0.62	78

All items prove relatively easy but all have good discriminating power.

We modified some items to become more plausible and we got the revised tests ready to use for the piloting of the 'live' exams at different places all over the country in July. We are waiting for the analysis of test scores in the October workshop.

How to maintain this process

The ELTTP Testing and Assessment System for Distance Education in Vietnam is an ongoing process. In order to change it to become self-sufficient without foreign experts' help, we have made a detailed plan as follows: Practice: we have already standardised members who join the national testing team. We have begun to organise the workshops on writing test items to establish an item bank, then we'll have a good database. We'll do the real test administrations with high security, and used computer software for test score analysis.

Compatible testing team: we have a testing team with some certain knowledge of testing and assessment for distance education now. This team has been trained by the ELTTP and will be the core force in the later sustainable testing system. We will invite other teachers from universities and colleges who are interested in testing to participate in the national testing team. Each member will be filled with a role. We actually need a computer specialist who will help us in the analysis of test scores.

Regular meetings: twice a year we will meet again for increasing the item bank. The new items will be piloted during intervening periods. Then the real exam will be organised.

Ministry support: this is a national testing and assessment system for distance education, so the agreement and support of the Ministry of Education and Training are inevitable. This aims to not only bring the LSS English teachers up to the national level of English, but also boost the Vietnamese English teachers to catch up with the international English level.

Now I could proudly say that Vietnam is able to develop international-standard tests for itself. But I don't know. It is still too early to say, but I do believe that we are heading in the right direction, and what we have done is develop a sustainable testing system for distance education in Vietnam.

ELTTP Selection Test: Notes on Interpreting Item and Test Score Analysis	
Maximum possible	The maximum possible score the test or item, i.e. the score out of which it was marked.
Maximum achieved	The maximum score gained by any candidate in the sample.
Minimum achieved	The minimum score gained by any candidate in the sample.
Mean (average) score	The arithmetic average of all candidate scores. (Here missing answers are taken as 0.)
Median score	The score achieved by the middle candidate when all candidates are arranged in order of ability (as measured by the test).
Standard deviation	A measure of the dispersion or the distribution of test scores. For a normal distribution of test scores, approximately 70% of the candidates will fall within ± one standard deviation of the mean and approximately 95% will fall within ± two standard deviations of the mean. In achievement tests we expect the standard deviation to be at least 16% of the total score (bigger is better). In proficiency tests, the standard deviation may be smaller.
Correlation (coefficient)	A statistical indicator of the strength of relationship between two variables e.g. candidate scores on Paper 1 and Paper 2 The correlation (r) used here has a value between ±1. The larger the value, the stronger the correlation (relationship) between the two variables. As a rule of thumb: $r>0.8$ indicates a strong relationship.
Rit	The correlation between candidates' scores on the item (i) and the whole test (t). If an item discriminates, Rit will be positive. As a rule of thumb: Rit>0.3 is considered acceptable for an item.
p-value	The level of difficulty of an item. The larger the value the easier the item. (The p-value is sometimes more correctly referred to as the facility value.) It may be expressed in different formats, but here it is the average score on the item as a percentage. For example, $p = 56$ means that the average score was 56%, 5.6 out of 10, or 2.8 out of 5, or 0.56 out of 1. p-value can be compared directly for all items.
Coefficient alpha	An estimate of the reliability of a test. For long, objective tests we expect $a > 0.9$. For shorter tests, or sub-tests, a will be smaller. For non-objective tests, e.g. essay-types, a will be of the order 0.8. Note that when all the component scores are added, the full test becomes more reliable than any one component.

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24 Self-monitoring capabilities: teacher education and TEFL in Vietnam

Ha Van Sinh

Second language teacher education (SLTE) has shifted its training focus from improving teaching by mastering prescribed ways to teach (the prescriptive approach), to reflecting on one's own practices and benefiting from cooperation of others (the reflective and developmental approaches). Recently, the exploratory approach, innovated by John Fanslow (Gebhard & Oprandy 1999:21) focuses on gaining teaching awareness by trying alternatives to teach differently, and to explore further to obtain fresh insights and new questions to keep on exploring (op. cit.: xiv). Whether to improve teaching or to obtain teaching awareness, teachers are supposed to take responsibility for their own teaching and to self-monitor (i.e. to be able to describe and evaluate) their teaching practices.

Self-monitoring involves the capability to identify and diagnose practical classroom problems which exist for teachers and decide on strategies for resolving them (Elliott 1976:217). Elliott states that self-awareness is a useful starting point for practical reflection in which the teacher becomes '... aware of his own actions, their consequences and the extent of his moral responsibility for these consequences ... [and the teacher] ... reflects about theories of teaching by testing their validity in their classroom' (op. cit.:218-9). In SLTE, I think self-awareness can be seen as the trainees' understanding of, and skills in, observation techniques related to lesson analysis, classroom management, task analysis, and classroom interaction, or classroom input and interaction (CII) as it is defined in this paper.

Classroom input refers to the language environment which is created by the teacher and which learners are exposed to. Classroom interaction is the process by which learners practice to produce more accurate and appropriate language. In other words, CII is the process of learner listening and responding to the language produced by the teacher and other learners via the communication between the teacher and the whole class or an individual learner (teacher-fronted interaction), between two learners (pairwork), or among many learners (groupwork). The language produced by the teacher is his/her instruction (including questions, directives, information), elicitation and feedback, and the learner language is the target language learners use when they are involved in the classroom interaction. The understanding of CII thus provides the teacher with the ability to analyse the amount of teacher talk which embodies giving instructions, eliciting, questioning, and how the teacher sets up and monitors interaction to achieve the set objective(s) of the lesson. Evaluation of lesson effectiveness is based on the data drawn from the classroom discourse analysis of such language input and interaction.

As part of the study of second language acquisition (SLA), CII has been highly promoted by many TESOL writers and researchers (e.g. Brown 1994, Ellis 1994, Kumaravadevelu 1999, Nunan 1991) in the evaluation of lesson effectiveness. Whether taking the developmental or the exploratory approach in teacher education, teachers are required to have expertise in observing and using the metalanguage for 'labelling and analysing classroom behavior' (Gebhard & Oprandy (1999:11), or for 'comparison, evaluation and self-direction' in reflective teaching (Calderhead 1989, in Kennedy 1993:160). Kennedy (ibid.) comments that

So we get trainees to reflect upon their own performance because teacher training is ultimately about the development of professional knowledge and understanding. It is hoped that students will not only acquire effective teaching skills, but also that they will develop professional autonomy through an emphasis on an analysis of their teaching experience.

The process of self-monitoring is thus that of the trainees' exploration of alternatives to obtain awareness and/or self-evaluation of their own teaching effectiveness to ensure their accountability and to sustain the value of training programs. This process requires the trainees' expertise in discourse analysis of CII as part of their observation skills to reflect on their practical classroom situations, and to conduct classroom-based research. However, for non-native teachers of English in EFL contexts, their training and professional lives consist of very few opportunities to train for self-monitoring.

Lack of ability to reflect on practical classroom situations

In 1998 I worked on a professional reflection project in which each of the staff in a language centre had a lesson video-taped, and was asked to review their lesson and to reflect on it. In helping a teacher identify a problem in her classroom, I happened to find a causal relation between her training background and her ability to reflect on her own performance. She was not so skilled at utilising linguistic and interactional modification devices to make her language easier to comprehend. The video-taped lesson reveals a type of teacher-fronted interaction.

The teacher, however, was unable to identify the problem. During her 5-year training course in college she took the subject of TEFL Methodology, which included techniques of teaching listening, speaking, reading, writing and lesson planning. In her third year at college she had six weeks of teaching practice in a secondary school. In 1997 she attended a TEFL in-service workshop where she was trained to modify lesson plans. She evaluated that the workshop was as impractical and inapplicable. Her teaching experience at the time she was involved in the project was three years' teaching general English to secondary school and adult learners, with textbooks written by the

Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) for secondary schools or by native speakers, such as Streamline English and Headway. Is it possible to say that she was not skilled at utilising input modification devices because she was not trained to do so?

Through a stimulated recall and a questionnaire, I found that she had not been provided with theoretical understanding of the nature of second language acquisition, particularly of classroom input and interaction. In the questionnaire to investigate her training background and qualification, I wanted to see how much knowledge of SLA she had and I asked her to tick a list of 25 theoretical items related to CII. Only four items were ticked. In addition, when interpreting the classroom discourse of her class with me, the teacher was really interested in the meta-language I used to describe how she made her instructions understandable to her students, and how she conducted the classroom interaction. The clear-cut description of the classroom communication seemed to promote her ability to evaluate her teaching effectiveness. Although we did not have enough time to talk in detail about what should have been done to fix the communication breakdowns during the lesson, the teacher found it useful to have a chance to analyse her own talk and her ways of conducting the lesson when viewing the video-taped class.

In June 2001 I was working as a trainer for a teacher-in-service education (TIE) program in Hanoi (the VAT — Vietnam-Australia Training Project) and one of my responsibilities was to train 48 participants (TEFL teachers from 20 junior secondary teacher-training colleges — JSTTC) in action research. In the first session I illustrated the rationale of doing action research in a language classroom and how it can be conducted with an aim to justify the essential role of action research in professional development, and its feasibility in Vietnamese contexts. The problem that I raised was 'My students were not participating in my lesson!'. What most of the participants thought about was unsuitable materials — boring or too difficult for the students. None of the participants thought about the lack of interaction in the classroom. This is consonant with the survey of their professional development strategies and training background that I conducted before I started the session. Thirty-five participants (73 %) did not study Curriculum & Syllabus Design, twenty-eight (58%) did not study SLA and Discourse Analysis, and 20 (41%) did not study Classroom Input and Interaction while they were in their pre-service training programs.

Neglected needs of non-native TEFL trainees: self-monitoring capabilities

The TEFL Methodology component in the three-year training program for teacher-trainees in JSTTCs in Vietnam only takes up 6% of the training curriculum, and an additional 3% of their practice teaching in junior secondary schools (see Table 1). The methodology component focuses on the techniques of teaching the four skills (listening — speaking — reading and writing) which provides trainees only with the ability to plan and then conduct a lesson rather than the ability to evaluate their own teaching effectiveness (see Table 2). The English skills component, which takes up 56% of the training program, may impose significant influence on the trainees' teaching skills. Trainees are involved in a much greater amount of time for English language and skills development with non-native trainers, and subconsciously take their trainers' teaching styles as a model for their later professional performance. Consequently, the trainees are more concerned with the conduct of specific lessons than the evaluation of their own performance. This has also resulted from the current training mode in most JSTTCs where trainees learn to teach virtually in a transmissive and prescriptive manner (via trainers' lectures, and demonstrations). In a recent survey conducted with the TIE 2001 participants, I found that they learned how to teach primarily via their trainers' lectures (91%), imitation of trainers' demonstrations (83%), classroom observations (81%), and practice teaching in secondary schools (75%). Micro-teaching is only familiar to the participants who recently graduated (52%), and using their own audio-/video-recorded lessons for reflection (8%) is not popular. Obviously, the scientific model and the craft model are more dominant than the reflective model in these teacher-training colleges.

Table 1: Three-year Training Curriculum for Lower Secondary School (LSS) TEFL Teachers
Total credits: 179
Source: *Junior Teacher-College TEFL Training Curriculum for LSS teachers (Draft)*. MOET 1999.

Components		**Subjects**	**Credit No.**	**Proportion**
General Education		Physical Education Defence Education Marxism & Leninism Scientific socialism History of Viet Nam Communist Party Ho Chi Minh Thoughts Basic Informatics Introduction to Vietnamese Linguistics Vietnamese Culture Vietnamese Language Practice	41	23%
Professional Education	Pedagogical Subjects	Psychology, LSS Education, Educational Research Methodology	21	12%
	TEFL Methodology & Practicum	Introduction to TEFL Methodologies TEFL Techniques Testing	11	6%
		Practicum	6	3%

	English skills	Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing, Grammar, Translation, Phonology, Semantics, Literature, Culture & Civilisation	100	56%
	French (as a 2nd foreign language)		Optional	

Table 2: The TEFL Methodology Component in a Three-year Training Curriculum for Lower Secondary School (LSS) TEFL Teachers — Total credits: 11/179 (6%)
Source: *Junior Teacher-College TEFL Training Curriculum for LSS teachers (Draft)*. MOET 1999.

Core subjects	Content	Length
Introduction to TEFL Methodology	Chapter 1: Foreign Language Teaching Methodology (Introduction; Defining methodology; A brief history of language teaching) Chapter 2: The Nature of LT and CLT (The history of nature of language; Theory of language learning; The communicative approach; Teacher roles and learner roles)	30 classes (of 45 minutes), including seminars & tests
Techniques in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (I)	Chapter 1: Basic Language Teaching Skills (Presenting & practising vocabulary, structures, grammar points; Conducting meaningful drills, Using pair & group work; Elicitation techniques) Chapter 2: The Standard Lesson Type (Exploiting the text & dialogue; Using the blackboard; Making and using simple teaching aids; Planning lessons) Chapter 3: Introducing Variety into Language Teaching and Learning (Games, songs & rhymes; Revision & homework; Improving pronunciation)	45 classes (of 45 minutes), including seminars & tests
Techniques in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (II)	Chapter 1: Developing Receptive Skills (Encouraging creative language use; Developing listening & reading skills) Chapter 2: Developing Productive Skills: Writing & Oral Skills	60 classes (of 45 minutes), including seminars & tests

Self-monitoring capabilities, the discourse analysis of classroom input and interaction

The effectiveness of a lesson is not the result of the implementation of a lesson procedure. For example, knowing what an information-gap activity is and how to conduct it does not necessarily lead to successful outcomes in a particular class. Effectiveness stems from the teacher's ability to analyse how input is turned into intake through classroom interaction and whether input is comprehensible to the learner. Even when the focus of an observation is to see how skilfully a particular technique is being applied, effectiveness of the application cannot be evaluated without analysing the amount of teacher talk which embodies giving instructions, eliciting, questioning, and how the teacher sets up and monitors interaction to achieve the set objective(s) of the lesson.

Thus, together with the ability to analyse a classroom discourse, the understanding of CII enhances the teachers' ability to make proper pedagogic decisions in planning and implementing a lesson, and especially their ability to gauge the effectiveness of a lesson (Brown 1994, Ellis 1994). For example, the trainees' viewing of their video-taped lessons in conjunction with the guidelines provided by the trainer help them explore their own classroom so that they can 'self-observe, self-analyse, and self-evaluate learning and teaching acts'(Kumaravadivelu 1999:458). This type of classroom discourse analysis ultimately develops trainees' capability to evaluate and improve their teaching competence by thinking about the rationales of the teaching techniques they are trying out and adapting them in different teaching contexts. I have noticed that the evaluation of a lesson taught by a trainee — on most occasions — is not very effective due to the fact that the trainee's later visualisation of the lesson and his / her peers' field notes during the observation might be insufficient. Given that the 'macroperspective' (Richards 1990) or 'Reflective Model' (Wallace 1991 and Woodward 1991) in TEFL teacher-training provides trainees with not only professional knowledge, but also opportunities to develop their capability to self-evaluate effectiveness of their own lesson, the analysis of a video-taped lesson should be a frequent activity in the course of teacher preparation to assist both trainers and trainees in reviving the classroom input and interaction.

As earlier mentioned, the teacher in my professional reflection project found it very useful to have a chance to analyse her own talk and her ways of conducting the lesson when viewing her own video-taped class. Professional development and teaching awareness require cooperation of colleagues and others in classroom observation and 'a common language that can be shared by teachers' (Gebhard & Oprandy 1999:11). A metalanguage to talk about teaching is thus a need in both pre-service and in-service training programs, where trainees learn from observations of their own and others' lessons. It is obvious that the expertise in discourse analysis of classroom input and interaction provides a common language for such cooperation. The fact that the teacher in my project was able to tick only four out of the 25 theoretical items related to CII indicates that the neglect of CII in TEFL teacher-training programs might limit their ability to describe what happens in the classroom precisely. However, ‘... many teacher education programs have failed to equip teachers with specific teaching techniques or with skills for labelling and analysing classroom behaviour ... [Too often they gave teachers global advice ... without linking it to specific behaviour’ (Good & Brophy 1997:35).

Since the 1990s Vietnam has received training assistance in the area of TEFL from various international organisations and governments (e.g. The VAT Project, British Council). Most in-service training workshops held by these organisations focus on communicative language teaching (CLT) techniques, with an effort to change the current teaching practice which is textbook-based and aimed at providing learners with language knowledge rather than skills. Usually, needs analyses were conducted by the training providers prior to syllabus design. However, due to the trainees’ lack of understanding of second language learning theories, what they thought they needed was merely techniques of teaching language knowledge and skills. In consequence, most of these workshops were demonstrations and practice of CLT techniques rather than attempts to improve trainees’ self-awareness. The trainees were happy because they ‘knew’ how to teach English with a communicative purpose. Nonetheless, their enthusiasm faded rapidly because the same textbooks were still there, the curriculum was as tight and rigid as usual, and the final examinations were primarily knowledge-based.

Self-monitoring capabilities and action research

Action research has been highly recommended by many writers (e.g. Anders 1966, Elliott 1978, Gebhard & Oprandy 1999, Tsui 1993) as a tool in SLTE for exploring our teaching and professional development. Additionally, it helps achieve a primary goal of teacher-in-service (TIE) programs which is ‘to give teachers ways of exploring their own classrooms’ (Nunan 1990:62). That is why, since 1998, action research has been incorporated into the VAT Project TIE programs. The 1998 TIE program required the trainers to ‘constantly relate the demonstrations of good practice that they present, and the feedback received in the follow-up sessions, to the basics of action research’ (The VAT Project’s Training Needs Analysis, May 1998). The participants were given research-based tasks to complete on a voluntary basis on return to their workplaces. Nineteen out of these 63 participants (30%) completed their tasks and received feedback. The 2001 TIE Programs took a further step: action research is a compulsory component of the curriculum and all the participants have to write and submit action research proposals in the last week of the program, and conduct these studies in their workplaces with assistance and assessment from the teaching teams during their visits to the JSTTCs (TIE Program Outline, May 2001). The three core aims of this program are (1) developing ‘the ability of participants to reflect on current teaching practices and to use this self-awareness to gradually develop their teaching skills’; (2) developing ‘participants’ ability to use English proficiently in the classroom’; and (3) developing 'teacher as researcher's skills' through an action research component (TIE Position Paper June 2001:1).

The first and third aims cannot be fruitfully achieved without trainees' understanding of CII, which is essential in helping in-service trainees define their problems and design strategies for improvement. Action research encourages teacher-researchers to solve their own problems from a theoretical perspective, i.e. linking theory and practice into the one whole (Elliott 1978, McTaggart 1982). According to Gebhard & Oprandy (1999:62–3), action research can be viewed as a provider of opportunities to explore our teaching and '... heighten awareness of our teaching beliefs and practices' in relation to a problem. As classroom researchers, TIE participants really need sufficient understanding of CII because the identification of classroom problems as a start for action research cannot take place without the evaluation of lesson effectiveness.

The use of metalanguage to describe the problem and to seek knowledge about the problem is also essential. Once I used Tsui's (1993) narrative in *New Ways in Teacher Education* to illustrate the cycle of action research. This narrative is about Alfred's (a secondary school teacher) action research, in which the problem he wanted to investigate was related to his questioning strategies. Only half of his students were very active and fought for a chance to answer questions. My assumption then was that the trainees would be able to specify the problem when they had read through the narrative. They, however, failed to do so. They could not answer the question 'What area of teaching did Alfred really want to improve?'. At another time, when consulting me for a task requiring them to identify a problem from their micro-teaching sessions and to seek the findings of the problem, a group of participants came to me with a problem of 'learners' lack of motivation'. They told me they had found that their peers (students for the micro-teaching) were not motivated, and they wanted to investigate this issue. When I asked them to show me the evidence they obtained from the micro-teaching sessions, it came out that they were specifically looking at their ineffective instructions. It is obvious that there was a gap between their hands-on experience and knowledge, or, as Wright (1990) puts it when he explains a possible failure in linking theory and practice in teacher-development programs:

> Perhaps there is an overemphasis on teaching techniques at the expense of the broader issues of methodology. More often than not, the cause may lie in the lack of appeal to the participants' apprehension of the relationship between theory and practice derived from their own experience. (p 82)

The 'lack of appeal' is actually the ignorance of non-native trainees' needs, either in pre-service or in-service TEFL training programs in Vietnam. The training background of those trainees mentioned in this paper, and an investigation of the training curriculum in all teacher-training colleges in Vietnam show that there has been an overemphasis on teaching techniques. The above-mentioned gap between theory and practice has resulted from the lack of understanding CII, a subject taught at the masters degree (MA) level in Vietnam. Unfortunately, the majority of teachers of English in Vietnam do not have the opportunity to study for an MA TESOL due to the unavailability of such courses, or their inability to afford the course fees. Even when they do, either in Vietnam or in the USA, Great Britain or Australia, the western-style of TESL/TESOL programs fail to accommodate the demand for more appropriate SLA and methodologies to be applied in Asian countries (Liu 1998). The fact that only a minority of teachers are getting the benefits of professional development opportunities in long-term masters degrees or advanced diplomas is a 'two-edged problem' (Frost 1997: vii). Frost explains that

> First, there is a concern about the quality of strategic planning and development work when only a minority are able to be engaged in the sort of critical reflection which masters degree courses foster, and second, from a purely egalitarian point of view, there is a concern that professional development and further study should be an entitlement for all teachers, not just for the few. (ibid.)

As mentioned earlier, due to their financial difficulties, Vietnamese teachers of English can hardly ever afford masters degree or advanced diploma course fees. Therefore, short in-service training courses funded by international organisations seemed to be the only opportunity for their professional development. The incorporation of awareness-raising and action research as core components in the VAT Project TIE 2001 curriculum aims to make up for this neglected need. As you can see from the TIE Position Paper the participants' capabilities to self-monitor their own teaching practices via 'awareness-raising' will be enhanced from the beginning of the program and be further developed via the action research and methodology components.

> 6.4 Core Components: Methodology
>
> Awareness-Raising
>
> Particularly in the initial stages of the course, participants are introduced to a variety of language teaching principles and classroom management techniques. They are encouraged to reflect on how learners learn and on their own attitudes towards teaching and learning. Attention is paid to the teaching and learning theory which underpins effective classroom practice.
>
> Language Teaching Skills
>
> Action Research
>
> The Action research component requires participants to think of what they want to improve about their language learning and their language teaching. Sensitivity to the needs of language learners is developed in the Awareness raising component of the program. Before the Participants can make changes in the classroom they need to acquire an understanding of discourse analysis of classroom input and interaction. Once the need for change has been identified and clarified, participants are assisted to make a plan to meet this need. The participants try out these plans in the micro-teaching sessions. After the plans have been tried, par-

> ticipants are required to reflect on the effectiveness of their plans, and to improve them. They are expected to continue their Action Research in their own workplaces and to write a report on the process. Trainers will advise them on this task when they visit them during the WBT.
>
> Micro-teaching
>
> Language Development
>
> Practicum, Materials Development, Professional Development Folders and Journals
>
> (TIE Position Paper June 2001:6)

However, taking the absence of CII in their pre-service training programs into account, more time should be allotted for the raising of awareness and CII in the initial stages of the course. The aim is to provide the trainees with classroom observation skills to assist their reflection throughout the course and to link the language teaching skills and the micro-teaching components with the action research component.

Conclusion

There is increasing evidence that the capability to self-monitor one's own teaching practices are neglected in the training of TEFL teachers in Vietnam. Opportunities to become a member of a TESOL association, to attend conferences and in-service training programs, to upgrade degrees or even to have access to professional books/journals for professional development are not available for the majority of teachers of English in Vietnam. Thus, the training of self-monitoring capabilities by providing knowledge and skills in analysing classroom input and interaction should not be neglected in either pre-service or in-service training programs.

The fact that it takes time to implement changes in pre-service programs, due to the Vietnamese current central system of educational management should be taken into account in teacher-in-service training programs funded and run by international organisations, if they aim to improve TEFL teachers' accountability and ensure sustainability of their training programs. The need to enhance trainees' self-monitoring capabilities seems to be more urgent when the new textbook, which adopts the communicative approach and focuses more on language skills development, is to be used in all secondary schools in Vietnam from September 2002. The understanding of classroom input and interaction will assist teachers in effectively conducting the textbook activities designed for improving the learner's communication skills in English.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Andrea Flew, Sue Wharton and Truong Bach Le, who carefully read the final draft of this paper and provided me with their valuable feedback.

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25 Foreign languages and development: German in China

Ulrich Wannagat

Defining the role of foreign languages in development

One of the earliest references to a relation between foreign languages and modernisation can be found in the bible. The first book of the bible, the Genesis, refers to the creation of the world and mankind, and then it tells us the interesting story, how the variety of languages emerged.

> There was a time when all the world spoke a single language and used the same words. As people journeyed to the east, they came upon a plain ... and settled there ... .Then they said, 'Let us build ourselves a city and a tower with its top in the heavens and make a name for ourselves, or we shall be dispersed over the face of the earth.' The Lord came down to see the city and the tower which they had built, and he said, 'Here they are, one people with a single language, and now they have started to do this; from now on nothing they have a mind to do will be beyond their reach. Come, let us go down there and confuse their language so that they will not understand what they say to one another.' So the Lord dispersed them from there all over the world, and they left off building the city.
>
> (Genesis 11.1–9)

The Tower of Babel is a symbol for the dividing force of language variety. By being forced to use different languages, modernisation and progress is hampered. If people speak with the same language, they can achieve everything, there is no limit to progress. Stunningly, the bible here provides a scenario that strongly favours a lingua franca as a prerequisite for modernisation and progress. If people can't understand each other, all efforts to achieve progress will be halted. This brings us to our basic question: Does the world still need the variety of languages? Would the world be better off with one language that is commonly spoken and understood, in this way reducing all the other languages to a status of vernaculars, spoken merely at home and in private social contexts?

Lingua franca and global language

According to David Crystal, 'A language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognised in every country' (Crystal 1997:2). A language becomes a global language because 'there is a closest of links between language dominance and cultural power'. Latin, for instance, became an international language throughout the Roman Empire because the Romans were more powerful, not because they were more numerous than the people they subjugated. 'Without a strong power-base whether political, military or economic, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication' (Crystal 1997:5).

Crystal rejects assumptions that the comparatively simple grammar of English contributed to the spread of English as a global language.

> A language does not become a global language because of its intrinsic structural properties or because of the sise of its vocabulary, or because it has been a vehicle of great literature in the past, or because it was once associated with a great culture or religion ... A language becomes an international language for one chief reason: the political power of its people — especially their military power
>
> (Crystal 1997:7)

Languages like Greek, Arabic, Spanish and Portuguese are much more difficult to learn, but dominated the world for periods of time. The same applies to Chinese as a dominating language in East Asia (Rhie 1999:62). Apart from military power, it takes an economically powerful nation to maintain and expand the dominance of a language. David Graddol adds that

> in future, it will be less clearly military power which provides the international backing for languages, because of changes in the nature of national power, in the way that cultural values are projected and in the way markets are opened for the circulation of goods and services.
>
> (Graddol 1997:59)

A comparison of the international standing of various languages provides a clearer picture about the importance of a global language. We can distinguish four areas: the size of a language community (numerical strength), the economic performance (economical strength), and the role of various languages in the new technologies, and in scientific research.

Numerically strong languages

Without doubt, English dominates communication in all fields and domains: in scientific, economic and diplomatic contacts, in the media, the arts, youth culture and tourism, and in the newly emerged information technology.

It seems that all other languages are only of local significance. This impression does not match with the facts that other languages are growing in importance. There

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are other languages that have a great influence and importance because they are used by relatively large communities of native speakers. The following table provides us with the recent development of the number of native speakers of the numerically strongest languages:

Table 1: Number of Native Speakers of Major Languages in Million (Ammon 2001:6)

	1964		1984		1996		Prediction for 2050	
1.	Chinese	515	Chinese	700	Chinese	1,123	Chinese	1,384
2.	English	265	English	391	English	322	Hindi/Urdu	556
3.	Hindi/Urdu	185	Spanish	211	Russian	288	English	508
4.	Spanish	145	Hindi/Urdu	194	Spanish	266	Spanish	486
5.	Russian	135	Russian	154	Hindi/Urdu	236	Arabic	482
6.	German	100	Portuguese	120	Arabic	202	Portuguese	248
7.	Japanese	95	German	119	Bengali	189	Bengali	229
8.	Arabic	90	Arabic	117	Portuguese	170	Russian	132
9.	Bengali	85	Japanese	117	Japanese	125	Japanese	108
10.	Portuguese	85	Indones	110	German	98	German	91
11.	French	65	Bengali	102	French	72	Malay	80
12.	Italian	55	French	63	Italian	63	French	76

According to these figures, Chinese, English, Spanish, Hindi/Urdu, Arabic, Portuguese and Bengali are expanding gradually, while the language communities of German, Japanese and French get smaller or stagnate. Regarding German, there are noticeable losses in rank order, reflecting the shrinking population. It falls from rank 6 to rank 10. Chinese, however, remains numerically the most important language in the world, far ahead of English.

Economic strength of language communities

Another way to measure the importance of languages is the economic strength expressed in the GNP (Gross National Product) of the language's native speakers worldwide. Needless to say that an economically strong language spreads to a greater extent than an economically weak language. The following table provides an overview of the economically strongest languages:

Table 2: Economic Strength of Languages in $billion (Ammon 2001:7)

Ammon 1991			**Graddol 1997 ('engco model')**		**Graddol 1997 (Traded GLP)**	
1.	English	4,271	English	7,815	English	2,338
2.	Japanese	1,277	Japanese	4,240	German	1,196
3.	German	1,090	German	2,455	French	803
4.	Russian	801	Spanish	1,789	Chinese	803
5.	Spanish	738	French	1,557	Japanese	700
6.	French	669	Chinese	985	Spanish	610
7.	Chinese	448	Portuguese	611	Italian	488
8.	Arabic	359	Arabic	408	Portuguese	138
9.	Italian	302	Russian	363	Malay	118
10.	Portuguese	234	Hindi/Urdu	114	Arabic	85
11.	Dutch	203	Italian	111	Russian	73
12.	Hindi/Urdu	102	Malay	79	Hindi/Urdu	25

According to these figures, English is dominant, but other languages like Japanese and German, are economically also important, though the number of native speakers is comparatively low. Chinese and Hindi, the languages with the highest number of native speakers, are economically less important. A fact that may change with the changes of markets and economic performance. Looking at the engco model which is based on a mixture of 'demographic, human development and economic data' (Graddol 1997:64), German actually comes second after English.

Languages and the new technologies

The dominance of English in modern technology is most evident in the new technologies, particularly in the Internet. Here, I list the languages of home pages on the Web as an example.

1.	English	84.3
2.	German	4.5
3.	Japanese	3.1
4.	French	1.8
5.	Spanish	1.2
6.	Swedish	1.1.
7.	Italian	1.0
8.	Portuguese	0.7
9.	Dutch	0.6
10.	Norwegian	0.6

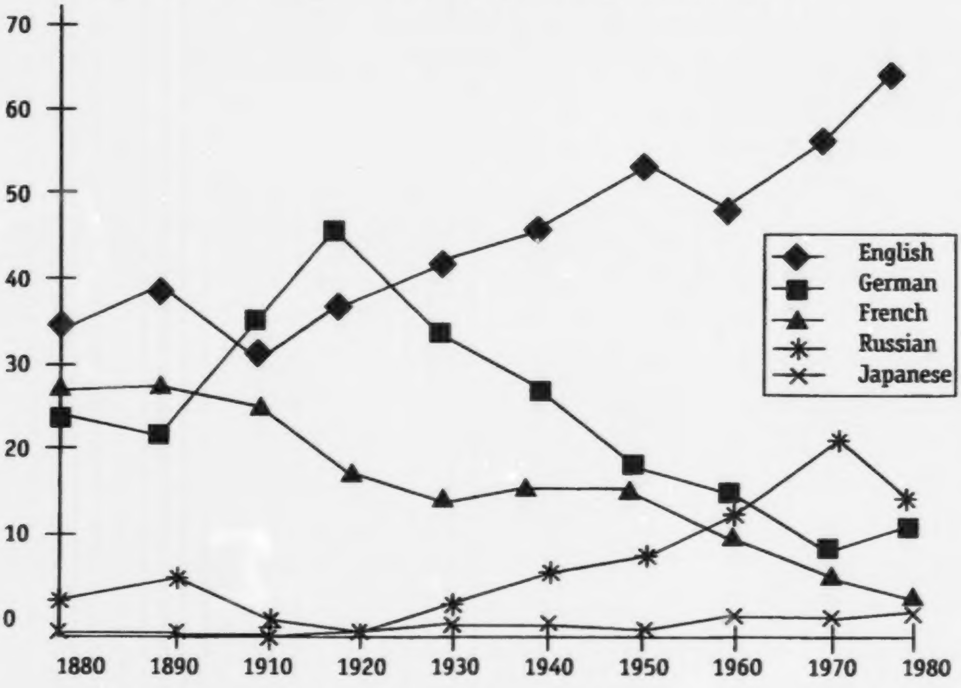
Table 3: Languages of WWW Home Pages in Percent (Graddol 1997:51)

English leads these figures from a statistical survey in 1997. However, 'as computer usage spreads, it is predicted that English content on the net may fall to 40% of the total material' (Graddol 1997:51). The share of English has in fact already dropped recently. The English Company (UK) Ltd has developed a corpus linguistic method for estimating the proportion of languages on the World Wide Web. According to this method, there were about 8 billion English words on the Web in 1997. The technique will be refined and used to monitor the Web's changing linguistic composition (Graddol 1997:51). The statistical data from 1997 has already changed significantly during the last four years, as the access to the Internet in China and other countries has risen, and Chinese language websites may quickly overtake the German language ones. In February 2001, it was estimated that about 20 to 25 million people in China are accessing the Net. In this respect, the Internet seems even to boost the usage of languages other than English.

Scientific research

The last examples demonstrate the different positions of languages in the field of science and research. Results of a study by Minoru Tsunoda (1983) demonstrate that German and French, which formerly stood on an equal footing with English as languages of science, were gradually pushed back by English. Tsunoda analyzed French, German, American, and Russian bibliographies, published between 1880 and 1980, according to the languages used for scientific publications. In Figure 4 we can see the dramatic

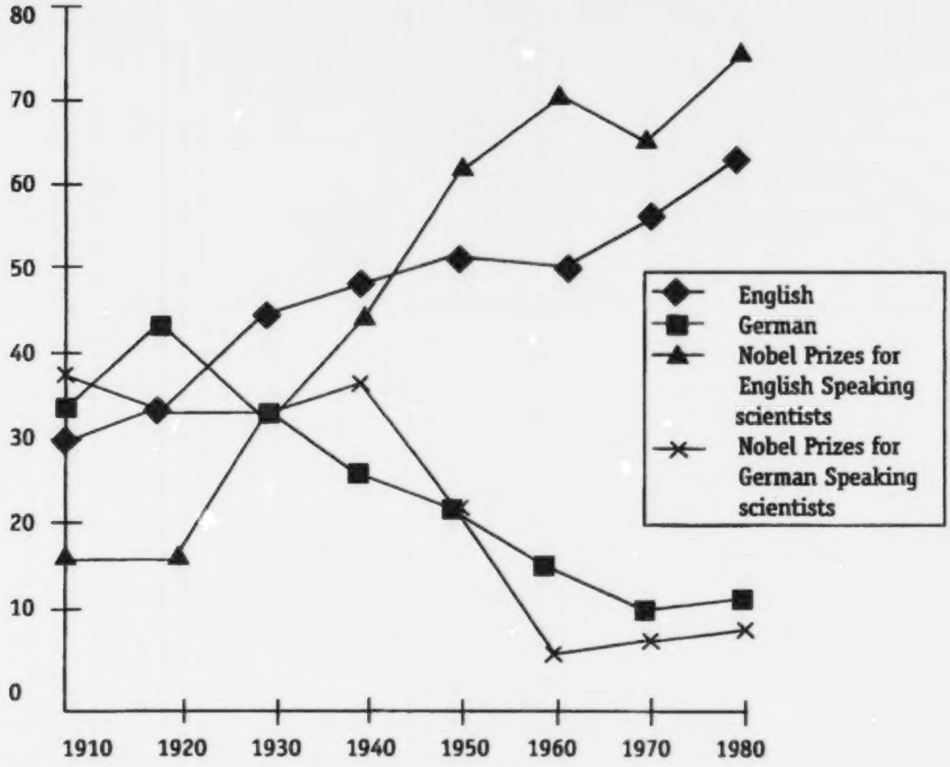
Figure 4: Shares of Various Languages in Scientific Publications
Over the Course of One Century (Ammon 2001:8, following Tsunoda 1983)



changes in the use of languages in the sciences, mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, medicine.

The decline of French and German is the direct result of the devastation in continental Europe caused by World War I. At the same time, English took over and rose. World War II led to a further decline, while the English-speaking countries remained comparatively unharmed by both wars. Some English-speaking countries, and in particular the USA, even benefited from the brain drain from Germany because of Nazi prosecution in the 1930s. One famous example is the Noble Prize winner, Albert Einstein, who left Germany in 1933 and settled down in Princeton, USA. After the war, a number of famous German scientists who had previously worked for the Nazi government were taken to USA to continue their research, and scientists like Wernher von Braun contributed to the American space program. The brain drain led to the increasing use of English in scientific publications. This trend becomes even more obvious when we look at a list of Nobel Prize winners. Since the 1940s, the number of German speaking Nobel Prise winners dropped dramatically. Accompanying this drop was the falling number of scientific publications in German.

Figure 5: Shares of English-speaking and German-speaking Scientists in Nobel Prizes Compared to their Languages' Shares in Scientific Publications of the 20th Century (Ammon2001:16)



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English is now the dominant language in scientific communication, and even French and German scientists tend to publish more in English than in their mother tongue, not to mention the scientists from smaller language groups. In the past, Dutch and Scandinavian scientists often published in German, so did the central Europeans. Not long ago French was — and to some extent still is — the lingua franca of the southern European scientists. (Ammon 2001:16)

Based on a survey, The International Sociological Association (ISA) compiled a list of the ten most influential books of this century. According to this list, the German influence is overwhelming: 50% of these books are originally written in German, 40% in English, and 10% in French. Following this survey, the president of ISA, an American, suggested to make German one of the official languages of ISA.

Table 6: The Most Influential Books of the Twentieth Century in Sociology, ISA Findings of 1997 (Ammon 2001:18)

Max Weber	*Economy and Society* (German)
C. Wright Mills	*The Sociological Imagination* (English)
Robert K. Merton	*Social Theory and Social Structure* (English)
Max Weber	*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (German)
Peter Berger/ Thomas Luckmann	*The Social Construction of Reality* (German)
Pierre Bourdieu	*Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (French)
Norbert Elias	*The Civilising Process: Power and Civility* (German)
Jurgen Habermas	*The Theory of Communicative Action* (German)
Talcott Parsons	*The Structure of Social Action* (English)
Erving Goffman	*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (English)

Foreign languages and development

We have seen that the importance of a language is influenced by several factors, including the number of native speakers, political power of the country, its economical performance, and the standard of its scientific research. In these statistics, nothing is mentioned about the contribution languages make to development and modernisation.

What is modernisation?

Before we look into the interrelationship between foreign languages and development, we have to define more clearly, what is modernisation? The terms 'development' and 'modernisation' are often used interchangeably. Development studies are quite a new discipline. They have only emerged after the Second World War, based on the 'growing concern for the political and economic development of the post-colonial world. The first sociological account of development was modernisation theory' (Marshall1994:119).

Modernisation theory was 'a dominant analytical paradigm in American sociology for the explanation of the global process by which traditional societies achieved modernity' (Abercrombie 1994:270). This theory distinguishes four areas of modernisation:

> Political modernisation: the development of key institutions which supports participation in decision-making (political parties, parliaments, franchise and secret ballots);
> Cultural modernisation: secularisation, adherence to nationalist ideologies;
> Economic modernisation: profound economic changes (increasing division of labour, use of management techniques, improved technology, growth of commercial facilities);
> Social modernisation: increasing literacy, urbanisation, and the decline of traditional authority.

To summarise, the concept 'generally emphasises professionalisation, rationality, planning and progress (as defined in the West)' (Magill:849). Looking at these four areas it is evident that the whole concept of modernisation is based on developments in the west. It has therefore been criticised as ethnocentric: To become 'modern', nations must emulate the patterns taken by the United States and Western Europe. Despite this criticism, this idea of modernity and modernisation still prevails.

However, some scholars emphasise 'China's unique path to modernisation' and the 'complex interaction between Chinese cultural tradition and the forces of change and modernity' (Vohra 1992:ix).

> During the western century, as the period between 1850 and 1950 may well be labeled, western ideas, techniques, and institutions were either imposed on colonial people or accepted under pressure by the non-western countries that still retained their 'independence'; this acceptance was based on the recognition that the only hope for survival lay in Westernisation.
>
> (Vohra 1992:1).

Foreign language studies in China

There is little research on the contribution of foreign languages to the modernisation process. It is common knowledge that the process of modernisation in the sense of westernisation could only be achieved if the vehicle for transporting the information — the foreign, and here particularly, the western languages — was made available.

Motivation for language studies

Western language learning in China during the Qing dynasty was a reaction to pressures directly related to foreign aggression. China already looked back at a long tradition of language learning. The 'Translators' College' in Peking was founded during the reign of the first Ming emperor (1368 — 1398), and taught the languages and cultures of the following countries: Mongolia, Arabia, Java, Japan, Tibet, India, Burma and Thailand.

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The philosophy behind the establishment of this college was that 'the ignorance of foreign people created a handicap when dealing with them'. The students were required to gain a thorough knowledge of the geography, commercial resources, languages and customs of these countries and regions. The teachers were largely foreigners (DÈveria 1896:94–102).

The first western language school with government backing was the Russian Language School, established in 1757 by the Grand Secretariat as a reaction to Russia's expansion into Asia. Its purpose was to train Chinese students to act as interpreters and translators of Russian. Russia was the first western power China came in close contact with. In 1862, the school was transferred from the Mongolian Superintendency to the newly established Foreign Office (Zongli Yamen). It seems that the teaching methods were not very effective, judging from an anecdote reported by a Russian traveller. In 1805, several graduates were sent to Urga to do interpreting, but they were unable to understand a word of Russian (Timkowski 1827:369f). From 13 students in 1862, none passed the exam. Of the five instructors, only one knew Russian. Obviously, there was no genuine interest in western languages, and even when the Tong-wen Guan (The College of Foreign Languages) was founded following an imperial edict from 1861, it was difficult to recruit students.

> In the beginning, since no self-respecting Confucian scholar would be caught dead studying a foreign language, the Manchu bannermen (often middle-aged) who were ordered to enroll at the college, proved to be indifferent students.
>
> (Vohra 1992:70)

The background of the establishment of this school was the Treaty of Tianjin which stipulated that all diplomatic correspondence should be conducted in the own language and be translated into Chinese by the Chinese government. In 1862, the first class for English opened, followed by French and Russian in 1863 and — following the unification of Germany — for German in 1871.

This was a comparatively unfavourable start to western language teaching, and the situation only improved with the 'self-strengthening movement' which started after the Second Opium War in 1860 (Liao1990:33ff.). The "self-strengtheners' believed that Chinese proficient in foreign languages could learn western technical skills, turn them against western aggression, and protect the spiritual core of Confucian China' (Ross 1992:240). The widely used aphorism 'Chinese learning for fundamental principles, western learning for practical application' (zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong) shows the attempt to carefully distinguish between the purposes of Chinese and western knowledge. In 1903, institutions such as the Tong-wen Guan were replaced by a Japanese-inspired 'modern' educational system in which modern languages (predominantly English and Japanese) accounted for more hours per week of the secondary school curriculum than any other subject. This was reduced in the second half of the 1920s following political changes (Ross 1992:241).

The vicissitudes during the following decades demonstrate again the influence of government policies and ideologies on the attitude towards foreign languages. However, ever since the self-strengthening movement, it was an undisputed fact that foreign language knowledge contributes to modernisation, and a growing number of Chinese students studied foreign languages in China, or went abroad for overseas studies.

The importance of various languages: translations

In the quest of modernisation, translation plays an important part for the transfer of ideas. This is a two-sided process. Among the earliest translations from western Languages was Clavius' 'Euclidis Elementorum', first published in 1607, translated by Jesuits with the help of Chinese scholars, which was regarded by Chinese scholars as the 'crown of Western studies' (Tsien 1954:308). In 1620 a collection of 7,000 volumes covering subjects such as philosophy, theology, medicine, sciences, law and music was compiled from Italy, France and Germany and brought to China by Jesuit priests. Later, the Jesuits concentrated more on translating Chinese works into European languages, triggering a discussion about Confucian ethics and directly influencing the philosophical movement of enlightenment in Europe.

When we look at the subjects chosen for translation, and the languages of origin, we see that most of the translated works — 40.6% — in the early period from 1850–1899 related to applied sciences. About 30% were books on natural sciences. Between 1902 and 1904, social sciences and history/geography became more important, with 24 and 25.5% respectively. From 1912 to 1940, works on social sciences remained important with 25.5%, but literature and fine arts rose to 27.6% of all translations. There is a clear shift of interests reflected in the translations from natural and applied sciences to social sciences and humanities.

Table 7: Translation into Chinese ca. 1850–1899 analyzed by subject and language (Tsien 1954:315)

Subjects	Languages translated from						
	Engl.	Am.	Fr.	Germ.	Russ.	Japan	Others/ Unknown
Philosophy	5	1	0	0	0	0	4
Religion	3	1	0	0	0	0	1
Literature	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fine Arts	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
History/Geography	25	10	1	1	2	16	2
Social Science	23	5		6	0	6	4
Natural Science	96	26	3	2	0	32	10
Applied Sciences	123	33	6	16	0	9	23
Miscellaneous	9	5	1	4	0	3	23
Total	286	82	13	29	2	86	69
Per cent	50.5	14.5	2.3	5.1	0.3	15.1	12.2

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Table 8: Translation into Chinese ca. 1902–1904 analyzed by subject and language (Tsien 1954:319)

Subjects	Languages translated from Engl.	Am.	Fr.	Germ.	Russ.	Japan	Others/ Unknown
Philosophy	9	2	0	1	0	21	1
Religion	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
Literature	8	3	2	0	2	4	7
History/Geography	8	10	3	0	0	90	17
Social Sciences	13	3	3	7	2	83	25
Natural Sciences	10	9	5	0	0	73	15
Applied Sciences	3	3	3	14	0	24	9
Miscellaneous	5	2	1	2	0	24	23
Total	57	32	17	24	4	321	78
Per cent	10.7	6.1	3.2	4.5	0.7	60.2	14.6

Table 9: Translation into Chinese ca. 1912–1940 analyzed by subject and language (Tsien 1954:320)

Subjects	Languages translated from Engl.	Am.	Fr.	Germ.	Russ.	Japan	Others/ Unknown
Philosophy	164		17	31	11	22	3
Religion	97		10	5	0	11	0
Literature	505		210	101	239	174	233
Philology	25		2	4	1	1	7
History/Geography	491		37	29	21	53	10
Social Sciences	763		72	118	42	351	5
Natural Sciences	585		25	46	3	112	0
Applied Sciences	311		2	41	3	217	0
Generalia	23		2	0	0	13	0
Total	2,988		381	377	326	969	258
Per cent	56.4		7.2	7.1	6.2	18.2	4.9

Regarding the languages of origin, English and Japanese dominate throughout the whole century. The Japanese works, however, were often translations from western books, and thus re-translations. In the second half of the 19th century, German works were not really important, however, we can assume that a number of the re-translations from Japanese may have been based on German works. It is only in social sciences that German authors are ranking second after English. One reason may be the lack of qualified translators for German. This changed in the beginning of the 20th century, and in applied sciences translations from German take the lead after Japanese. The importance of German works in social sciences, natural and applied sciences is reflected in the translation figures in Table 9, where they ranked third after English and Japanese, far ahead of French and Russian.

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The translations and the reception of foreign research and literature reflect the state of foreign relations as well. From the Opium War of 1842 to the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, British influence was dominant in China and about fifty per cent of translations were from British sources (Table 7). From the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 to the May Fourth Movement in 1919 'the rise of Westernised Japan served as a chief stimulus' (ibid 323). The Japanese aggression towards China, aroused hostility towards Japan, western countries gained more influence again, reflected by the fact that British and American authors constitute over fifty per cent of the translations. In total, there are 411 works translated from French and — according to a more complete record than that of these tables — 540 from German. Of those, 43% related to the humanities, 36.8% to social sciences, 20.5% to natural and applied sciences (Tsien 1954:325). This quantitative approach neglects the importance and impact of the different works that were translated. The tremendous impact of the translation of the works by Marx and Engels are a striking example. The translation of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels was only published in 1920.

Motivation to promote foreign languages — the German example

Competition of languages in the 19th century

When we consider foreign languages as a vehicle for modernisation in the sense of westernisation, then obviously English, as the language of the United States and the British Empire, was the most powerful and influential. However, the example of the Meiji-Restoration Japan (1868 — 1912) proves that this did not necessarily have to be the case. Since that time, Japan not only had close relations to the USA, but also to Great Britain, France and Germany. The standing of foreign languages in Japan reflects the quality of these relations. Before World War II, English, French and German had a similar standing in the Japanese society. In the Japanese education system, the three languages were treated equally.

The following table shows the hours of foreign language instruction for students of the upper secondary school (17 to 19 years old) before 1945.

Table 10: Hours of foreign language Instruction in Japanese Upper Secondary Schools before 1945 (Hirataka1994:197).

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
English	270 (1st foreign language)	240	240
	90 (2nd foreign language)	90	90
German	330	300	300
	120	120	120
French	330	330	330
	120	120	120

The enrolment figures at the Foreign Language University in Tokyo demonstrate as well that the student numbers of French, German, and English did not differ that much:

Table 11: Student numbers in western languages at the Foreign Language University, Tokyo

	1930	1935	1940	1945
English	153	124	132	115
German	98	92	118	110
French	103	112	102	102

With the surrender of Japan after World War II and the occupation and reeducation through the USA, this distribution changed. English became the dominant foreign language in the Japanese education system and, with the process of Americanisation, of all walks of life in Japanese society.

In Japan, the government took the initiative to invite foreign experts and modernise the society selecting suitable systems from various countries. Therefore, not only expertise from English-speaking countries was of importance. The legal system for instance was mainly modelled after the example of the Prussian legal system. German experts were invited for training, and texts had to be translated into Japanese. Regarding the educational system, Japan followed the trend of 'selective adoption'. Japan's educational system set up from the Meiji Restoration onwards did not take the educational system of a single nation as a model, but represented a combination of systems in various countries. The Japanese government invited foreign teachers as a means of promoting the policy of introducing western culture. The majority came from Germany:

Table 12: Employed Foreign Teachers as Classified by Nationality and Period (Makoto 1972:10)

	1867–72	1873–77	1878–82	1883–87
Germany	9	33	25	22
Britain	9	12	14	11
USA	13	20	11	5
France	7	13	5	3
Others	2	—	4	4
Total	40	78	59	45

The situation in China during the same period was very different, because the government neither had the will nor the power to start reforms. The open power struggle of the imperialist powers continued on the cultural level. They tried to disseminate their own language to gain influence, not only politically but — most important — economically. Since the Opium War, Britain was the strongest imperialist power in China, and English had already succeeded as a lingua franca in commerce and trade. In the opinion of the German supporters of imperialist policy, this dominance of

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English was the biggest obstacle to the conquest of the Chinese market by German industry. Thus, the German envoy in Peking, Graf Rex, reported to the German Imperial Chancellor (head of government) Fürst von Bülow:

> The English language is totally dominating business, and members of all nations are forced to use English when communicating with Chinese, because the Chinese compradors ... only master this language. Thus, the German business men get more and more used to the English language and slowly start to appreciate English culture in other aspects of life.
>
> (Reinbothe 1992:99)

In further reports, Graf Rex warned the Chancellor insistently of the political and economic damage for the German interests in China caused by the predominance of the English language. In 1908, he wrote:

> The dominant position of the English language does not only mean that the English take the prime position among all the European people over here, but that this dominant position of the language will for all future support the English interests — and nowadays one has to add — the American interests in China as well.
>
> (Reinbothe 1992:102)

He adds in another report from the same year: 'The Chinese don't like to hire German engineers or other German employees, because they can't communicate with them.'

He adds that very soon Chinese officials will start to import goods from abroad, and they will buy from the country whose language they understand and whose culture they are acquainted with. Even the slogan of a 'Struggle of Languages' was created to support the German influence in China (Reinbothe 1992:103). The supporters of the German case considered the German language 'one of the most important weapons'. They didn't have any doubt that in the long run, the success of the German-China trade depended on the position of the German language. With the same fervour, Fritz Wertheimer finished his treatise on 'German Achievements and German Tasks in China' (1913) exclaiming:

> It has to be emphasised a thousand times that the future in China belongs to the country whose language people speak and whose culture they know. To spread this language in schools is our most important tasks.
>
> (Reinbothe 1992:104)

These statements are full of imperialist rhetoric, deeply rooted in an inferiority complex of the (only-in-1871-established) German Empire. The empire had just embarked on an aggressive foreign policy (Weltpolitik). It wanted to secure Germany *'einen Platz an der Sonne'* — a place in the sun, after it had realised that the world was already shared out, mainly between Britain and France. There were only very few white spots on the world map left where Germany could be active. China was one of these — from a European point of view — 'white spots' where the power struggle between the imperialists was not decided yet. This was the reason why Germany put so much effort into gaining influence in China. At the same time, the government in Berlin was fully aware that Britain, the USA, and France were much too powerful to be defeated by conventional means. Therefore, it became a widespread idea to use the superior German culture as a means to gain influence, because:

> [n]o nation is as close to the Chinese in regard of thoughtful astuteness, untiring diligence, and systematic accuracy as the German. May the English and Americans have thousands of schools more than us: We can catch up.
>
> (Reinbothe 1992:74)

The closeness of the Chinese and German cultures was in this context often emphasised. On this backdrop, several secondary schools and tertiary institutions with German as a medium of instruction were founded. However, in 1914 the start of World War I stopped all these efforts, and there were no lasting results of this policy.

Regarding modernisation, this did not have much effect on imperialist rhetoric and competition-based policy, especially when compared to the impact of translations of German books. As mentioned before, during the first two decades of the 20th century, particularly German works in the fields of applied science and social science were very important and had a wider impact.

Through Chinese overseas students in Germany, the exposure to German language and culture was much more influential in regard of modernisation and reform. We may take Cai Yuan Pei (1868 — 1940) as an example. As the Director of Peking University and later, Minister of Education, he influenced the reform of the Chinese education system following his experience as a student in Berlin and Leipzig (Hanisch 1999:119ff.).

Contemporary Sino-German co-operation

Much has changed within the last 150 years. For Germany, the imperialist era ended in 1918 with the Treaty of Versailles and the cession of all overseas possessions. With the new republic and a social democrat government in the 1920s, Germany was one of the first countries to revoke the Unequal Treaties with China, recognising her full sovereignty (others, as the USA, followed only in the 1940s). The following years saw a thriving collaboration with the Kuomintang government, and more and more students decided to study abroad. A favourite destination during the 1920s and 30s was Germany (Hanisch 1999:271f.). The decision by Nazi-Germany not to seek an alliance with China — as favoured by the German army leadership — but to collaborate with Japan, interrupted all kinds of co-operation, and only after 1979, with the propagation of the 'Four Modernisations' by the Chinese leadership, co-operation and exchange started anew. According to figures provided by the Education Department of the Chinese Embassy in Bonn, in 1990, more than 6,000 Chinese students and scientists studied in Germany (Hanisch 1999:492).

In the 1980s the federal government renamed the German 'Federal Ministry for Developing Aid' to 'Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development (*BMZ Bundesministerium f r wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung*). This reflects the changed attitude from a more paternalistic support of 'under-developed' nations to a co-operation based on the concept of equality and partnership. The rationale is clearly expressed on the homepage of a BMZ agency under the header 'Why development co-operation':

> Destruction of the environment, poverty and refugee problems do not stop at national frontiers. Political and economic crises throughout the world also affect us. ... . The goal of Technical Co-operation is to enhance the capabilities of the people, organisations, and institutional structures in the partner countries. Technical co-operation means transferring knowledge and skills and mobilising and improving the conditions for their use. Technical Co-operation strengthens the individual initiative of the people so that they can improve their living conditions through their own efforts.
>
> (GTZ homepage).

Nevertheless, Germany's annual federal budget for the year 2000 only allocates DEM 8 billion for development co-operation. That is 0.3% of the Gross National Income, far below the target of 0.7% set by the United Nations. The total funding for development co-operation projects in China was more than DEM 200 million with about DEM 160 million for financial co-operation, and 48.5 million (1999: 45 million) for technical co-operation (BMZ homepage). That is about 25% of the whole federal budget for development co-operation. This reflects the importance given to the co-operation with the People's Republic of China:

> The PR China belongs to the most important co-operation partners of the German development co-operation ... Germany supports the development of a legislative framework, the reform of the economic, social and educational system (here with focus on the vocational education), and assists poverty alleviation ... Thus Germany contributes to a sustainable development and to the retaining of China as a stable and reliable member of the community of peoples.
>
> (BMZ homepage)

The Training Centre for German Language Peking (AfdS) — a Sino-German co-operation project

We are looking back at about 20 years of Sino-German development co-operation. Among one of the first projects was the Training Centre for German Language Peking (AfdS Ausbildungszentrum für deutsche Sprache Peking), founded in 1985. It is one of 43 development co-operation projects all over China, covering the following areas:
Vocational Training

Formal Basic Education

Training Centre for German Language

Training Centre for Welding

Training Centre for Middle Management

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Training of Vocational School Teachers at Tongji University

Basic and Further Training for Vocational School Directors

Training Centre for Printers

Vocational Training in Rural Areas

Training and Upgrading Centre Tianjin

Orthopaedics Training Centre

Regional Institute for Vocational Training Liaoning

Regional Institute for Vocational Training Shanghai

Upgrading of Management Staff of the Chinese Railways

Training for Managers of Medium Size Enterprises

Central Institute for Vocational Training

Training Centre for Automatisation Technology

Economic and Structural Reforms

Advisory Services to the Ministry of Labour

China (Hainan) Institute for Reform and Development

Macroeconomic Consulting to the Structural Reform Commission

Reorganisation of Industrial and Traffic Statistics

Support for the Training Centre of the State Planning Commission

Sino-German cooperation on economic and business law at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation

Support and Advisory Services for the Financial and Economic Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC)

Support for the Continuing Education Centres of the Chinese Auditing Authority

Reintegration of Women into Working Life

Environment — Energy — Protection of Resources

Promotion of the Office of the Environment Dongying

Utilisation of Wind and Solar Energy in Inner Mongolia and Selected Island Regions

Quality and Pesticide Residue Control

Centre for Power Station Technology and Energy Management

Rehabilitation of Mini Hydroelectric Plants in the Autonomous Region of Tibet

Rehabilitation and Protection of the Tropical Forest in Yunnan

Consolidation of a Land Management Information System

Promotion of the International Environmental Advisory Board at the State Council

Substitution of CFC in the Refrigeration Sector in the PR China

Reduction of Noxious Emissions

Conservation and Management of the Water Catchment Area of the Miyun Reservoir

Cooperation with the State Environmental Protection Administration (SEPA)

Basic and Further Training in the Forestry

Reduction of Industrial CO2 Emissions

Poverty Alleviation — Food Security

Sustainable Development in the Mountainous Region of Jiangxi Provice

Poverty Alleviation Henan, Sichuan, Yunnan

Development of Biological Agriculture

Development and Implementation of the Participatory Approaches in Agriculture and Forestry (www.gtz.de)

Institutional setting

The AfdS was founded in 1985 following an agreement between the German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development (BMZ) and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation (MOFTEC). The German side appointed its development aid agency, the GTZ (German Society for Technical Co-operation) to organise and supervise this project. The Chinese side selected the University of International Business and Economics Peking, UIBE, as the partner institution. The UIBE is the only university under the administration of MOFTEC; Chinese universities usually are under the purview of the Ministry of Education.

Rationale

The background of this agreement was the beginning of a closer development co-operation in the early 1980s. To ensure an effective transfer of knowledge and skills, Chinese experts in development projects had to take part in training programs and internships in Germany. To complete these programs successfully, the participants had

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to be fluent in German. The oral skills were particularly important. However, during the period of the Cultural Revolution there was very little international contact; only few language teachers were trained, and even these few were not proficient enough in oral skills. During the high time of the Cultural Revolution, students could use only the German translation of Mao's little red book for studying the German language.

Consequently, Chinese partners in development projects were sent to Germany for an intensive German language course, followed by the training program and internships. This not only prolonged the time abroad, but the language course in Germany and the subsidies for accommodation and daily expenses also were much more expensive than it would have been in China. However, there was another, even more important disadvantage. Some participants were — for various reasons, but mostly because of advanced age — not capable of learning the language well enough to follow a training program effectively and to benefit from internships in German companies and institutions. Time and money was wasted (the training programs plus internship alone usually takes one to one-and-a-half-years) and after their return to the project in China, somebody else had to be identified to be sent again. This jeopardised the success of a number of projects. The Chinese tradition to honour older and more senior team members and provide them with the much sought-after opportunity to go abroad, made the problem even worse. Younger staff, on the other hand may have acquired a taste for a better lifestyle and more freedom after a prolonged stay in Germany. Some — and that is a danger in all these projects — just did not return to China, but used the opportunity to stay in Germany.

Against this backdrop, the decision was made to set up an intensive language-training centre for Chinese partners in developing projects. At that time, there was no German cultural institute in China. Only in 1991, the Goethe Institut was allowed to be active in China — restricted to German language courses only. In the mid-80s, some universities started to offer intensive language courses, however, the quality was not very high. To ensure an effective, target-oriented language training, leading to a high oral proficiency within nine months, a team of German and Chinese experts was formed and the AfdS was set up.

There were a number of setbacks during the first years, for two main reasons: the Society of Technical Co-operation (GTZ) organised and supervised a language project for the first time, and there was a lack of experience with the subject, on their side. Also, the German team members hired by GTZ were directly sent from Germany and did not know much about learning and teaching in a Chinese setting. These problems were overcome after a new German team leader was appointed, as the appointee had taught at Chinese universities for almost a decade and was proficient in Chinese.

Tasks

The main objective of AfdS is to prepare Chinese partners for long-term training programs and internships in Germany which demand highly developed communication skills. As the participants have to function effectively in a German context, intercultural training plays an important role, too. For the set-up of AfdS, several tasks had to be accomplished in close co-operation with the Chinese partners. The German team had the task to design the curriculum German for Professional Purposes (Deutsch f‚r Fortbildung und Beruf), course materials in the form of a course book (*Praxis Deutsch — Shiyong Deyu*) and a final exam, leading to the Certificate German for Professional Purposes (*ZDFB Zertifikat Deutsch f‚r Fortbildung und Beruf*).

At the same time, the GTZ had to provide teachers' training courses in China and Germany to train young local teachers. A team of native German language teachers was formed to support the local teachers. Self-access learning facilities (library, language laboratory, computers etc.) had to be provided.

The Chinese side was responsible for the space allocation within UIBE, the administration of AfdS, including setting up an office, hiring clerks and office staff, and paying the local teachers who became members of the work unit UIBE.

Curriculum 'German for Professional Purposes'

The intensive course consists of two levels: a foundation course and an advanced course. Both last — following the term structure of Chinese universities — 18 weeks. There are 24 hours (one teaching hour is 45 minutes) of core courses per week, accompanied by four hours in the language laboratory, and two hours of culture studies. In the self-access learning centre, students can use computer-based learning programs and audio-visual materials.

At the end of the foundation course, students have to take the intermediate exam. If they fail this exam, they are advised not to continue, but to return to their work units. If they pass, they will join the advanced course which follows the same structure. The course ends with the final exam which leads to the 'Certificate German for Professional Purposes'.

The course book, *Praxis Deutsch — Shiyong Deyu*

The course book *Praxis Deutsch* was specifically designed by a Chinese-German team of experts according to the objectives of the curriculum. In four volumes, it comprises the whole contents for foundation and advanced level. Volume 1 and 2 are used for foundation, 3 and 4 for advanced level. The package consists of a course book (which is also a workbook), glossary, audiotapes and teacher's handbook. To illustrate the format of this course book, I present three examples:

Example 1: Language for professional purposes and cross-cultural training: The organisation of a company. This example is taken from the third lesson of the third volume that means students have just started the advanced class. While the topics of the first two volumes of *Praxis Deutsch* focus on the living and working environment of the students in China, Volume 3 and 4 concentrate on the preparation for living and working in Germany. The students will have to integrate as trainees in German companies or institutions, therefore they need to understand the structure and hierarchy. As well, they will be frequently asked about their position in their Chinese company, and the structure of their working environment. There are huge structural differences and different patterns of presentation. Without preparation, it is very difficult for a Chinese employee to describe his position in a way that the German partner can really understand. Organisation charts are ubiquitous in German companies and institutions, but unknown in Chinese companies.

The exercise starts with an example of an organisation chart. Based on this example, students have the task to draw a chart for the company, Allert, referring to information from a previous reading comprehension text (task 3.1a). After that, they have to form a group with partners from the same company — often there are small groups of two or three coming from the same work unit — or at least from the same field of work. For example, all should work in the field of power station technology. Then the groups are asked to draw an organisation chart for a Chinese company or work unit, and to discuss the differences between the German charts and the Chinese ones (3.1b). Finally, they have to write a short report about their work unit following the example of the previous text.

The students in each class come from very different projects and very different professional backgrounds. Therefore, they can only practice technical language in a very general context. The authors have chosen very basic technical phenomena, which nevertheless require a very special technical vocabulary. The focus here is placed on the verbs that can be used in many different technical contexts.

Example 2 is taken from Volume 4 of *Praxis Deutsch*. It is about static electricity. The students listen to the description of a physical experiment. Then, one student has to demonstrate the experiment according to what they have heard. The other students help him in case he did not understand everything, or correct him, in case he makes a mistake (task 1.1). In task 1.2 the students see pictures of a similar experiment accompanied by short texts. They have to relate each text to a picture. This initial introduction of the basic vocabulary for electrostatic phenomena is followed by tasks that are more complex. They have to describe the functioning of an air purifier, based on a graph (task 2), and finally, the functioning of a photocopying machine, based on a text and a graph (task 3).

Example 3 refers to the basic principle of the water cycle. The students approach the topic with a discussion about the importance of water (task 1.1). After this introduction, the students listen twice to a lecture and summarise the main ideas (1.2). Then they are prepared to read a text and fill the relevant terms into the graph.

These three examples illustrate the importance of listening comprehension and oral exercises throughout the whole course. Speaking and listening skills are crucial in professional training programs, and particularly during internships in companies. The experience of partners in Germany with Chinese trainees directly influenced the contents and didactical concept of *Praxis Deutsch*. While working on *Praxis Deutsch*, the authors distributed questionnaires to gather information on how the trainers and supervisors in Germany evaluated the language proficiency of their students, and where there were still problems in communication. In addition they conducted interviews. Generally, the comments emphasised deficits in oral skills, particularly in listening comprehension, and cultural differences that can cause misunderstandings and make functioning in a German professional context more difficult. Accordingly, there are very many listening comprehension exercises in *Praxis Deutsch* (27 audio tapes for the four volumes) and many opportunities for oral presentation and discussion, often related to intercultural topics.

The Certificate German for Professional Purposes (ZDFB)

Upon passing the final exam, the participants receive the Certificate German for Professional Purposes. The level of this certificate is slightly higher than the Certificate German as a Foreign Language (ZD), which is the official German language proficiency test organised by the Goethe Institut.

According to a government agreement between Germany and the PR China, passing the ZDFB is a fundamental prerequisite for the participation in government-sponsored training programs in Germany. The ZDFB examination is, up to now, the only examination conducted by a Chinese institution that is officially recognised by the German government.

According to the importance of the oral proficiency for training and internship, the oral expression part counts for one third (33.3%) of the final examination result. The other parts are weighted as follows: listening comprehension 23.3%, reading comprehension 23.3%, grammar and vocabulary 10%, writing 10%.

The ZDFB exam is open to all students who have attended comparable intensive courses. A brochure with a model test is available at the AfdS (see: homepage). Candidates who fail the exam are not admitted to the training program, a visa will only be issued when a candidate can produce the ZDFB certificate.

Afds — a success story?

Generally, the AfdS has fulfilled the expectations. The Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft (CDG) is responsible for the organisation and supervision of training programs and internships for Chinese partners in Germany. CDG regularly evaluates the effectiveness of the programs. Since the new curriculum and*Praxis Deutsch* are in use, the language standard of participants has improved. *Praxis Deutsch* has become a popular German language course book throughout the People's Republic of China, and now there is even a Taiwan edition.

The return of a group of young local teachers from a long-term teachers' training program in Germany certainly contributed to the further improvement of teaching. They form a young and dynamic team; the average age of the AfdS management is under 40, and the average age of the teachers is 45.

AfdS has become a model language-training centre. A number of intensive courses, e.g. in Harbin, Chengdu, and Nanjing, follow its curriculum, and use*Praxis Deutsch*. In these centres students can even sit for the ZDFB exam, which is conducted by external examiners from AfdS. Since 1985, about 2,000 participants have completed the intensive language courses at AfdS successfully. They went for further training and internships to Germany.

After 15 years of German support, the co-operation agreement ended with the year 2000, and the AfdS has to stand by oneself. Nevertheless, it will continue to serve the Sino-German development co-operation and prepare staff from development co-operation projects for their training in Germany. Institutionally, it has already been further integrated into the university structure by the formation of the Chinese-German Institute (CDI) in 1997, which ties together the former Department for German Studies and the AfdS. A problem of high importance for the German partners is how to secure the quality of the ZDFB certificate. Up to now, the partners in Germany can rely on the language proficiency guaranteed by the certificate. In the past years there were always isolated attempts to forge certificates or influence examiners. A responsible management and very close co-operation with the German partners is needed to fight the dilution of standards.

Since its foundation, AfdS has employed German native speakers to support the teaching. They received their salaries from GTZ. After some consideration it was decided that the German organisation CIM (Center for International Migration and Development — see homepage), an employment agency for development projects, will be responsible for the placing of mother tongue teachers in AfdS.

Outlook

In the late 1980s, the new term 'globalisation' entered popular discourse. During the World Sociology Congress in Montreal in 1998, a panel on globalisation tried to set the foundations for an analysis of key concepts on this topic. According to Majid Tehranian,

> Globalisation is a process that has been going on for the past 5000 years, but it has been significantly accelerated since the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991 ... Elements of globalisation include transborder capital, labor, management, news, images and data flows.

(Riggs2000:1)

Christopher Chase-Dunn identifies five different dimensions of globalisation: economic globalisation, political globalisation, common ecological constraints, cultural values and institutions, and globalisation of communication.

Especially the last two dimensions are closely related to language, and one could argue that the emergence of English as the 'New Latin' directly supports the process of globalisation. However, it may be dangerous to over-emphasise the importance of English. It is a vehicle of communication, and the global dimension of cultural values and institutions, the 'flow of images and data', cannot solely rely on the knowledge of one language. The Training Center for German Language (AfdS), the successful training of thousands of Chinese experts in Germany, and their contribution to the development in China serve as a good example.

Fortunately, we seem to have left the aggressive and competitive 19th and 20th centuries behind, which created nationalist ideologies and racist theories in order to justify world domination and exploitation by individual powers. Maybe, we now have reached a point where we can refer to the innocent curiosity of the 17th century that is perfectly characterised by the great German philosopher Leibnis. In 1691, he wrote in the preface of his work Novissima Sinica:

> The situation in Europe shows a decline in moral standards which makes it almost necessary that Chinese missionaries should be sent to teach us.
>
> (Leibnis: 1957:8)

In a true global world, development can only be achieved through the free flow of ideas in all directions. The English language contributes enormously to this flow. However, we should not forget that there are huge treasures of ideas, knowledge and skills accumulated by the cultures of this world, which we now — supported by the technology of communication and the change of attitude — have the chance to share. The concentration on one global language and — in the long run — on one culture represented by this language, may jeopardise cultural pluralism and foster cultural and political domination. I do not want to argue from a position of competition among languages — the early 20th century concept of struggle for influence. Keeping the minds open to cultural variety based on equality and mutual respect will provide a special chance for development and progress within the framework of the new world order in the 21st century.

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Dr Kaz Janowski is a producer at the BBC World Service, working in BBC English. He has a background which blends science and English teaching; his academic background is in biology, and before he joined the BBC, he taught English for many years in Malaysia, Poland, Kuwait and the UK. He now works on a wide range of programs, not only programs teaching English but many content series (covering literature, science and international development) which try to use English carefully to reach those who don't have English as a first language.

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Hywel Coleman is a Senior Fellow in the University of Leeds, UK, and acts as the university's adviser on Indonesian links. He has been interested in project evaluation for many years. With a group of Sri Lankan colleagues, he is currently involved in the ongoing impact measurement of a primary English project in Sri Lanka. At the present time he is also playing a role in collaboration with Czech colleagues — in the retrospective measurement of the impact of British Council support for English language teaching in the Czech Republic over the last ten years.

Martin Ferns has many years experience in educational publishing projects in Africa and Asia (most recently in Cambodia). He has participated in the development and publishing of primary/secondary school language courses, in publishing skills-training and capacity building, and in policy formulation/implementation for educational materials provision, and national book sector development.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACTU — Australian Council of Trade Unions

AMES Victoria — Adult Multicultural Education Services

APHEDA — Australian People for Health, Education and Development Abroad

APHEDA— Union AID Abroad is the ACTU's humanitarian aid agency,

AusAID — the Australian government's Agency for International Development

ETWAVE — East Timorese Women Against Violence

GFFTL — Grupo Feto Foinsa'e Timor Lorosa'e. The Young Women's Group of East Timor

JICA — the Japanese government's International Cooperation Agency

LAIFET — Labour Advocacy Foundation of East Timor

NGO — Non-government organisation

OPMT — Fretilin women's organisation

Rede Feto Timor Lorosa'e — The Women's Network of East Timor

UNDP — United Nations Development Program

UNESCO — United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNTAET — United Nations Transitional Authority in East Timor

SIH — Soros International House

OWH — Open World House

ESPI — English for Specific Purposes Institute

ILC — International Language Center

VOICES FROM PHNOM PENH

Development & Language

Global influences & local effects

Reflections from a conference in Phnom Penh on the complex interaction between economically conceived progress and indicators of communication-language.

Edited by Joseph Lo Bianco

According to the United Nations, during the 1990s the disparity in wealth, income and opportunity between the rich and the poor in developing countries grew rather than lessened. The appalling living conditions of millions of our fellow human beings makes it imperative that all those engaged in educational work on an international scale address the implications of their work for ameliorating these inequalities before it's too late. Language education (literacy, national-international language relations, access to schooling, male-female disparities in access and attainment from schooling) is linked with development.

Based on the 5th International Conference on Language and Development: Defining the Role of Language in Development held in Phnom Penh, Cambodia in September, 2001, Voices from Phnom Penh examines the complex relations of language with the imperative for agencies involved in international aid, trade and global cooperation to confront the massive inequalities that plague the contemporary world. Voices from Phnom Penh canvasses the multi-faceted relationship between social and economic development and its impact on language. The contributors are writers, researchers, teachers, administrators and policymakers from a range of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as "first world" scholars, teachers and policymakers. Unique in its diversity of perspectives, Voices from Phnom Penh draws from a wide array of interests, positions and experiences of the language-development connection, exploring new ground by incorporating both theoretical and practical perspectives.

This remarkable book offers new and innovative perspectives on the linkages between the political, ideological, cultural, educational, administrative, economic and social, with language: the way we use language to understand and shape the world, and the ways in which different languages carry and represent worldviews and interests.

Published by Language Australia

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FL027837

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Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
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EFF-089 (1/2003)